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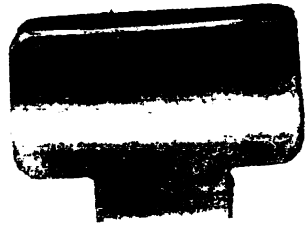

EUPHEMISTIC

Liturgical Appendixes

IN

The Old Testament

A

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE

BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES

OF THE

Johns Hopkins University

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1899

BY

KARL J. GRIMM

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IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES

WAS FOUNDED

AT

The Johns Hopkins University

BALTIMORE, MD.

1899

Preface.

THE SUBJECT of this investigation was suggested to me by Professor Paul Haupt in the autumn of 1896. In the treatment of the problem every effort has been made to take into account such work as has been done in the criticism and interpretation of the various passages here discussed, and it is hoped that nothing of importance in the very extensive and widely scattered literature has been overlooked. It has been my endeavor to give due credit to all who have made any remarks on this subject. A number of books appeared during the printing of this volume so that I could make only a limited use of them in the correction of the proofs. On page 3, note ***, a reference should be added to Jakob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*[3], Leipzig, 1898, p. 43; *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*[3], herausgegeben von Jakob Oeri, Berlin & Stuttgart, 1898, 2, pp. 146. 281. 436.

I desire to express my heartiest thanks to my honored teacher, Professor Paul Haupt, for valuable suggestions and corrections, for the generosity with which he placed his library at my disposal, and for his kind assistance in seeing my work through the press.

Acknowledgment is also due to the members of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University who have rendered valuable assistance in reading the proofs.

Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
May, 1901.

Karl J. Grimm.

Biographical Sketch.

I, Karl Josef Grimm, was born June 10, 1871, at Steinbach near Wertheim, Germany. I attended the public school of my native place, and received a collegiate education at first by private tuition, later at the Grossherzogliche Gymnasia at Wertheim and Tauberbischofsheim. In 1888 I came to America, and entered St. Jerome's College at Berlin, Ontario, where I studied especially English and Philosophy. The following year I returned to Europe and spent two years in Rome, studying chiefly Italian, Latin, History of the Fine Arts, and Philosophy. In 1891 I came again to the United States, and took the full course at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa. In 1896 I entered the Johns Hopkins University to devote myself to the study of Semitic Languages under the direction of Prof. Paul Haupt and Prof. Christopher Johnston. I also followed a course in Philosophy under Prof. Griffin, and studied Sanskrit and Avestan in the department of Prof. Bloomfield. In the year 1896—1897 I held a University scholarship, and during the years 1897—1899 the University Fellowship in Semitic. During the past two years I have held the William S. Rayner Fellowship in Semitic Languages, founded at the Johns Hopkins University in 1899.

Thanks are due to all my teachers. I am especially indebted to Prof. Paul Haupt for his friendly assistance and encouragement, rendered in many ways, and to the kind helpfulness of Prof. Christopher Johnston.

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ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF

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Abbreviations.

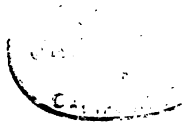
Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Gött.	= Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AJSL	= American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AJTh	= American Journal of Theology.
Gött. Gel. Anz.	= Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
Gött. Gel. Nachr. (*GGN*)	= Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Jahrb. f. d(eutsch.) Theol.	= Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
Jahrb. f. jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.	= Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur.
Jew. (*Jewish*) *Quart. Rev.*	= Jewish Quarterly Review.
Journ. of the AOS (*JAOS*)	= Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Journal of Bibl. Lit. (*JBL*)	= Journal of Biblical Literature.
Kautzsch's *AT*	= Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, ed. by E. Kautzsch.
Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft	= Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.	= Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
OLZ	= Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung.
Proc. Am. Or. Soc.	= Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.
Rev. Sémit.	= Revue Sémitique.
SBOT	= The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by Paul Haupt.
Stud. u. Krit.	= Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
Theol. Lit. Zeit. (*ThLZ*)	= Theologische Literaturzeitung.
Theol. Tijdsch.	= Theologische Tijdschrift.
ZAT	= Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.	= Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

Symbols for the Text and Versions of the Old Testament.

$\mathfrak{M}$ = Masoretic Text; $\mathfrak{G}$ = Septuagint; $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ = Codex Alexandrinus; $\mathfrak{G}^{Mr}$ = Codex Marchalianus; $\mathfrak{T}$ = Targum; $\mathfrak{S}$ = Peshita; $\mathfrak{S}^{H}$ = Syro-Hexaplar; $\mathfrak{A}$ = Arabic Version; $\mathfrak{J}$ = Vulgate; $\mathfrak{A}'$ = Aquila; $\mathfrak{O}$ = Theodotion; $\mathfrak{S}$ = Symmachus; Jer. = Jerome; *Complut.* = The Greek text of the OT in the Complutensian Polyglot; AV = English Authorized Version of the Bible; OT = Old Testament.

Corrigendum.

For Ezr. 9,28, p. 24, l. 12, read: Ezr. 9,2.



It is a well known fact that at the conclusion of the four books, Isaiah, Malachi, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, the last but one verse is repeated.* This is done not only at the reading in the synagogue but also in our printed editions where the repeated verse is sometimes printed in smaller type.** The reason for this repetition is evidently the desire to avoid concluding a piece, especially when read at the services, with a verse containing a curse or words of evil import which, it was feared, might have unlucky consequences. A similar feeling has induced the final editors of the Canon of the Old Testament to change the position of the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Book of Chronicles. It is plain that the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah properly follows the Book of Chronicles, both forming one continuous work of history.*** But the final paragraph of Ezra-Neh., the record of the deplorable Samaritan schism, was considered too unpleasant a conclusion for the Canon of Sacred Scripture.† Hence the Books were transposed, and the opening verses of Ezra-Nehemiah (vv. 1—3[a]) repeated at the end of Chronicles so as to conclude the Canon with the glad tidings of the edict of Cyrus granting the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem.††

---

* Cf. C. H. H. Wright, *The Book of Koheleth*, London 1883, p. 447; Cheyne, *Proph. of Isaiah*[3] **2**, London 1884, p. 134; Löhr, *Die Klagelieder*, Göttingen 1893, p. 26; Budde, *Die Klagelieder*, Freiburg i. B. 1898, p. 108; G. Wildeboer, *Der Prediger*, Freiburg i. B. 1898, p. 168.

** Cf. the editions of the Old Testament by D. E. Jablonski (1699), van der Hooght (1705), J. H. Michaelis (1720); the Mantua Bible of 1742; the Baer-Delitzsch editions of the Masoretic text.

*** Cf. Cornill, *Einl. in das Alte Test.*, 3[d] and 4[th] ed., Freiburg i. B. 1896, p. 134; Driver, *Intr. to the Literature of the Old Test.*[6], Edinburgh and New York 1897, p. 516.

† Cf. Cornill, *Einl.*, 3[d] and 4[th] ed., p. 136.

†† In this order the Books are given in the most ancient record which we have with regard to the sequence of the books in the Hebrew Scriptures, Baba Bathra 14[b]: סידרן של כתובים רות וספר תהילים ואיוב ומשלי קהלת שיר השירים וקינות דניאל ומגילת אסתר עזרא ודברי הימים. So also most Hebrew manuscripts and the earliest printed editions. Cf. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Test.*, London 1892, pp. 229, 230, 281; Christian D. Ginsburg, *Intr. to the Masoretico-Critical Edition of the Heb. Bible*,

These are, however, not the only instances in the Old Testament where the principle of avoiding ill-omened conclusions is followed. In a number of passages where the last but one verse appeared not suitable for repetition, the dread of the evil omen has called forth euphemistic, i. e. *anti-ominous* appendixes. They are found especially in the Psalms and, as might be expected, in the Prophets; for prophecy was to the Jews no mere annunciation of what was coming to pass, but was regarded as actually creating the future. Prophecy had a self-fulfilling power:*

As the rain comes down, and the snow from heaven,
And thither returns not, except it have watered the earth,
And have made it spring forth and sprout,
And given seed to the sower, and bread to the eater,

*So will my word that has gone forth** out of my mouth;*
It will not return to me void,
Except it have accomplished that which I pleased,
*And carried out that for which I send it.****

To make the prophetic denunciations suitable for reading in the religious services the addition of anti-ominous appendixes seemed to be required.†

London 1897, pp. 6, 7. In 𝔊 and the versions influenced by it, the arrangement of the Books is in accordance with chronological propriety, i. e. Chronicles precedes Ezra-Nehemiah.

* Cf. Is. **9**, 7; **44**, 26; **45**, 23. Cheyne, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, 1898, p. 187, n. 133, l. 50. See also Dillmann, *Genesis*[5], Leipzig 1886, p. 325 (ad c. 27, 33); R. Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg i. B. 1893, pp. 87, 88; 2[d] ed., 1899, p. 86; Paul Ruben, *Critical Remarks upon some Passages of the Old Test.*, London 1896, p. 1 f.; Marti, *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion* (3[d] ed. of August Kayser's *Theologie des Alten Testaments*) Strassburg 1897, p. 116; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* übersetzt, mit Noten[3], 1898, note on Hos. **6**, 5.

** Read, with Klostermann, Cheyne, and Marti, יָצָא instead of 𝔐 יֹצֵא.

*** Is. **55**, 10. 11. I quote from the new American translation of the Holy Bible commonly known as the *Polychrome Bible*, so far as it has been published.

† Besides the Psalms and the Prophets there appear to be but two passages where an application of this principle can be traced, viz. Judg. **5**, 31[b] and 1 Sam. **2**, 10[b]. Judg. **5**, 31 reads:

כן יאבדו כל אויביך יהוה
ואוהביו כצאת השמש בגבורתו׃

So perish Thine enemies all, O JHVH!
But be His friends as the sun when he rises in power.

These words form the conclusion of the triumphal ode of Deborah, and have been regarded as a later addition by E. Meier, Winter (*ZAT*, 9, p. 223 f.), J. Marquart (*Fund. Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, Gött. 1896), Budde (*Richter*, 1897), *et al.* V. 31[a], however, appears to form a most impressive close to the ode: "The word *so* brings it all before our eyes again: how proudly they marched out under the admiring eyes of their ladies; how

Euphemisms in Greek and Roman Authors.

The fear of using words of evil omen played a very important rôle among the Greeks and Romans. *Male ominatis parcite verbis* says Horace, *Od.* III, 14. 11. *Εὔφημος πᾶς ἔστω λεώς Στόμα συγκλείσας Ar. Thesmoph.* 39. The Greeks called the Erinnyes *Εὐμενίδες gracious* or *σεμναὶ (θεαί) revered goddesses* because they dreaded to call these fearful deities by their real name. By a similar euphemism they gave to the *πόντος ἄξενος*, the inhospitable Black Sea, the name *πόντος εὔξενος hospitable sea.** Similarly the Cape of Good Hope was originally called the Stormy Cape. The Romans employed numerous paraphrases, for the same reason, to designate death and to die: *abitio, obitus*, etc.; *vixit, fuit, abiit, obiit*, etc.** When a census was taken, the names *Valerius, Salvius, Statorius* were called up first *ominis boni gratia* (cf. Sexti Pomp. Festi *De verborum significatione quae supersunt*; ed. Carol. Odofr. Müller, Leipzig 1839, sub verb. *Lacus Lucrinus*, p. 121). In Pliny we read, *N. H.* 28, 26: *incendia inter epulas nominata aquis sub mensam profusis abominamur.* There is a real bond of union between the thing and the word that denotes it.*** At the sacrifices especial care was taken to avoid the use of

---

gaily they rode into the fray; the repulse, the defeat, the panic, the wild flight — *sauve qui peut* —, the king's death by a woman's hand, disgrace worse than death; the anguish and the dismay of those who loved him. *So* perish Thine enemies all, O JHVH!" (G. F. Moore). But the case seems different with v. 31b. Here Winter's objection that the conception of *love to God* is not met with in the older literature seems to hold good. Observe also the change of construction in the verse. In v. 31a JHVH is directly addressed, in v. 31b He is spoken of in the third person. The variant reading of 𝔊𝔄 which is followed by Houbigant (*Notae Criticae in Universos Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1777, p. 264), Schnurrer (*Dissertationes Philol. Criticae*, 1790, p. 89), Grätz (*Gesch. d. Jud.* I, p. 118), and others, *Thy friends* instead of *His friends* is most probably a harmonistic emendation. Cf. also H. Grimme, *ZDMG*, 50, p. 578. Thus v. 31b has all the appearance of being a later addition. It seems to have been appended because the original close of the Ode *So perish Thine enemies all, O JHVH!* was felt to be too ill-omened. See also Nowack's new commentary, p. 56.

Similarly I Sam. 2, 10b, ויתן עז למלכו וירם קרן משיחו, *He imparts strength to His king, and exalts the horn of His anointed* seems to be a liturgical formula added to the "Song of Hannah" so as not to close with the judgment of JHVH, v. 10a. The song consists of 8 regular stanzas of 4 lines each. V. 10b stands isolated. Cf. Ps. 29, 11 (see below, p. 17); Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 57; Thenius-Löhr, *Die Bücher Sam.*, 1897, p. 12.

See also the critical note on Num. 24, 9b in Haupt's *SBOT; cf. ibid.* p. 58, l. 3.

* See Kiepert, *Manual of Ancient Geography*, London 1881, § 17.

** Cf. the corresponding Semitic euphemisms below, p. 5.

*** Cf. Ruben, *Critical Remarks*, p. 1. Compare also Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by J. St. Stallybrass, London 1883, pp. 1223 ff.; Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*[2], Leipzig 1869, p. 420 f.

unlucky expressions. The priests would always exhort the people, before the beginning of the sacrifice, not to utter an ill-omened word: *Favete linguis! Εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε* (*Ar. Acharn.* 241) *σιωπή, εὐφημίαν νῦν ἴσχε* (*Soph. Trach.* 177). Seneca, *De vita beata* 26: *Imperatur silentium ut rite peragi possit sacrum, nulla voce mala obstrepente.*

Euphemisms in Semitic.

Among the Semites the dread of falling into some evil power if it be called by its right name is very prevalent, and euphemisms, due to this reason, are therefore of frequent occurrence. Consul J. G. Wetzstein in his Excursus on Ps. 69, 21 in the Commentary of Franz Delitzsch, 4th ed., gives the following interesting beginning of a dialogue between an old woman and a young man in a Damascus phantasmagory: "He: God be with us! She: Why, beloved, this cry of anguish? He: Because of the evil foreboding; the sight of an old woman brings disaster". Accordingly a woman advanced in years is addressed only يا امّى *yâ ummî* 'my mother.' Similarly the word ضرّة *ḍarre* is disliked by the Moslem as a designation for a co-wife, جارة *ǧâre* 'neighbor' being used in preference to it. This may be due, as Lagarde has suggested,* to the fact that ضرّة has also the meaning distressfulness, annoyance, and thus appears as a word of bad omen.** The Arab gives to the serpent which so often endangers his life no other name than صبيّة *ṣabîye* 'girl.' The monkey, قرد *qird*, whose look is considered ominous, is called السعدان *es-saʿdân* 'the bringer of good fortune.' In North Morocco, نار *nâr* is never used for fire on account of its association with جهنّم *ǧehennam*. To hell is most circumspectly given the name الوادى الاحمر *el-wâdy el-aḥmar* 'the red valley.' And as to the devil, it is only in company with others, in order to show his courage, that an Arab would dare to say الله يلعن الشيطان *Allâh yalʿan es-Shêṭân* 'God curse Satan;' when alone or in close quarters with him, he addresses him with more respect: ابو مرّ *abu murra* 'Father of Bitterness,' which corresponds about to the German *Grimmbart*,

* *Mittheilungen*, 1, Göttingen 1884, p. 127. Cf. also *Semitica*, 1, Gött. 1878, p. 23.

** ضرة = צרה = ḫnz = Assyr. *ṣerritu* (GGN, 25 Ap. '83, p. 96). See Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford 1890, pp. 7, 8; Notes on *Leviticus* in the *Polychrome Bible*, 1898, p. 88, ll. 37 ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 575 b.

is then the customary appellation of Satan. An Arab avoids giving to his child the name بدر *bedr* 'full moon' (the symbol of decrease), but he very often calls it هلال *hilâl* 'new moon,' the symbol of increase and good fortune.* If, in Damascus, one asks after an invalid and receives the answer طيب يسلم راسك *ṭayyib yeslam râsak* 'he is well, may thy head be unharmed,' this means مات *mât* 'he is dead.' A dangerous illness is called an act of grace. In Yâqût's Geographical Lexicon (vol. 3, p. 129) we read: "One bitten by a snake is called safe for the sake of good omen," and in an Arabic account of a certain town it is said: "There are poisonous scorpions there, he who is safe from them is incurable".**

The existence of this feeling among the Jews also, and its influence in the liturgical sphere cannot be questioned. Thus we read e. g. in the passage above referred to, Baba Bathra 14b, concerning the order of the Prophets: סדרן של נביאים יהושע שפטים שמואל מלכים וירמיה יחזקאל ישעיה שנים עשר: * * * * * מכדי ישעיה קדים מירמיה ויחזקאל ליקדמיה לישעיה בריש כיון דמלכים סופיה חורבנא וירמיה כוליה חורבנא ויחזקאל ריש חורבנא וסופיה נחמתא וישעיה כוליה נחמתא סמכינן חורבנא לחורבנא ונחמתא לנחמתא: *The order of the Prophets is Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve * * * * * But was not Isaiah earlier than Jeremiah and Ezekiel? Because Kings ends with desolation, and Jeremiah is all desolation, while Ezekiel beginning with desolation ends in consolation, and Isaiah is all consolation, desolation is joined to desolation and consolation to consolation.*** For not putting Job first in the list of the Hagiographa — a position to which the traditional date (the age of Moses) seemed to entitle it — it is deemed sufficient reason that *we never begin with calamity.*

* In Old High German a name of happiest augury for a hero was *Wolf-hraban* 'Wolfram', to whom Wotan's favorites, the wolf and the raven, jointly promised victory. Similarly no animal's name but the wolf's is ever compounded with *gang*, Wolfgang a hero before whom goes the wolf of victory. Servian mothers name a son they have longed for *vuk* 'wolf': then the witches cannot eat him up. The Greeks and Romans, likewise, regarded *Ἀνλσχος*, *Lyciscus*, a lucky name. Cf. J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 1140; Lucae, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 45, 564; Jos. Haltrich, *Klein. Schrift.*, herausg. von J. Wolff, Wien 1885, p. 291. On هلال see Lagarde, *Orientalia*, 2, Gött. 1880, p. 19.

** See J. G. Wetzstein, *ZDMG*, 33, p. 312 f.; Excursus on Ps. 69, 21 in the 4th ed. of Delitzsch's *Commentary*; Paul Haupt in the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology, 3, p. 577, note. Comp. also T. K. Abbott, *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*, London 1891, p. 47 f.; Stade, *Akad. Reden und Abhandl.*, Giessen 1899, p. 226, n. 1.

*** In some manuscripts and in the Masorah Ochlah w'Ochlah Isaiah follows Ezekiel; cf. Lagarde, *Symmicta* 1, Gött. 1877, p. 142; Cornill, *Einl.*2, p. 172; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Test. in the Jewish Church*2, New York 1892, p. 151, note.

But is not Ruth calamity? It is calamity with a good end to it, אתחולי בפורענותא לא מתחלינן רות נמי פורענות היא פורענות דאית ליה אחרית. Jer. Megillah 3. 8 (fol. 74^b) we have the rule, quoted by R. Josê b. R. Bûn, that, in the reading of the Law, each reader should begin and end his portion with propitious words: כל העולה לקרות בתורה פותח בדבר טוב ומסיים בדבר טוב:.* A commentary on this passage (קרבו העדה, ed. Shitom. fol 26^a) remarks "just as we find that the prophets concluded their oracles with propitious words".** The rule applied also to the reading from the Prophets. Among the manuscripts recently brought from Egypt to the Bodleian, we find one (*Cat. Neubauer* d. 42) which gives the whole portion of the Haftarahs, always adding a verse containing good tidings, even when the preceding verses would seem to render this unnecessary on account of its favorable subject-matter. Thus e. g. Micah 6, 8 is joined to Micah 5, 7—13 which forms the haftarah to Gen. 27, 28.***

References to Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the Old Testament.

The occurrence of euphemistic liturgical appendixes in the Old Testament has rarely been noticed.

After Rosenmüller† had pointed out that the closing verses of Pss. 14 (53); 25; 34 were later liturgical additions, Sommer†† recognized the underlying principle of euphemism in Ps. 34, 23:††† "the verse", he says, "is merely an antithetic repetition of the preceding v. 22, added to give the Psalm a milder and more calming conclusion."

In his *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, Göttingen 1890, p. 190, F. Giesebrecht has incidentally advanced the suggestion that the fear with which the Jews regarded the word of God and its possible evil effects on themselves may have led to the insertion of words of comfort into oracles containing JHVH's threat against His people.

Wellhausen*† has observed that Amos 9, 8—15 has been substituted by a Jew of a later time for the original close of the Book *weil der ihm zu hart in die Ohren gellte.*

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* Cf. Maimonides, *Hilcoth Tephillah*, 13, 5; Vîtringa, *De Synagoga Vetere* Libri tres, Leucopetra 1726, p. 968.

** I am indebted for this reference to Prof. George F. Moore.

*** See A. Büchler, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 6 (1894), pp. 15, 46, note, 49.

† *Schol. in Ps.* 25, 22: *Mihi hic versus videtur additus esse tunc, cum hic Psalmus usui publico destinaretur . . . . . Quod ipsum factum esse videmus in Psalmo XIV atque LXXX et videbimus in Psalmo XXXIV.*

†† *Biblische Abhandlungen*, Bonn 1846, p. 162.

††† See below, p. 8f.

*† *Die Klein. Proph.*, 1892, p. 94; 3d ed., 1898, p. 96.

Baethgen* sees an application of the principle in Ps. 34, 23.

R. Smend** remarks that the *prophetae posteriores* have not come down to us in their original form but as adapted to the minds of the Jewish readers and especially for use in the liturgy. They endeavored to generalize and soften the effect of the prophetic denunciations, removing the sting as far as possible and adding consoling promises wherever they were found wanting. He points to Amos 9, 8 ff.; Mic. 6, 7 ff.; Jer. 4, 27; 5, 10. 18; 16, 14. 15.

Dr. D. G. Stevens in his *Critical Commentary on the Songs of the Return*,*** based on the interpretation given in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, remarks (p. 171) that the formula of the priestly benediction *We bless you in the name of JHVH* has been appended to Ps. 129 in order to turn the thought of the worshipper away from the untimely fate of the haters of Zion who wither like grass on the housetops (expressed in the preceding stanza) to the happiness of Israel rejoicing in JHVH's blessing.

Canon Cheyne has indicated in several of his works† that the post-Exilic editors loved to mitigate threatenings by promise.

B. Jacob†† points out that at the close of a number of Psalms liturgical concluding formulas of a Messianic character have been added. He calls these additions *Schlusssegen-Haftaroth.*

In the *Polychrome Bible* such passages are printed in the Hebrew Edition in red, in the English Translation in italics, to indicate their liturgical character.

While there have thus been some occasional allusions to the principle, no systematic investigation, so far as is known to the writer, has been made.

In the following discussion the material has been arranged under the following heads:

I. **Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the Psalms.**

II. **Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the Prophets.**

A. *Euphemistic Additions to Prophetic Sections.*

B. *Euphemistic Conclusions to Prophetic Books.*

The term *liturgical* has been employed in this investigation not in the sense of *actually forming a fixed part in a prescribed liturgy,*

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* *Die Psalmen* übersetzt und erklärt, Göttingen 1892, p. 97; 2d ed., 1897, p. 95. Cf. also Reuss, *Das AT übersetzt*, Braunschweig 1893, 5, p. 110.

** *Alttest. Relig.*[1], p. 183, n. 1; 2d ed., p. 200, n. 1.

*** *Hebraica*, 11 (Oct. 1894, Jan. 1895) Chicago 1896.

† *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, London 1895, pp. XIX, XXIII; *The Book of Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 145, l. 42.

†† *ZAT*, 16 (1896), pp. 151 ff.

but rather in the broader signification of *being prepared for, or pertaining to, worship or religious ceremonies in general* (see the *Century Dictionary* s. v. *liturgical* (2). Thus e. g. when Canon Cheyne in his translation of *Isaiah* in *the Polychrome Bible* calls Is. 38, 20 a *liturgical* appendix, and speaks of Is. 63, 7 ff. as a *liturgical* composition and of. Is. 26, 2—9 as a *liturgical* work, he uses the word in this wider meaning. He certainly does not intend to imply that these sections were actually used in the services, forming stated pericopes.* The *systematic* reading of prophetic lessons seems not to have been customary before the Christian era. The present annual cycle of the Haftarahs is of Babylonian origin. The earlier Palestinian system was a triennial cycle corresponding to the triennial cycle of lessons from the Pentateuch.**

I. Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in The Psalms.

(1) Ps. 34, v. 23.

As a clear instance of a euphemistic appendix Psalm 34, 23 can be cited. Psalm 34 is an alphabetical Psalm, but the ת verse

תמותת רשע רעה
ושנאי צדיק יאשמו׃

Misfortune will slay the wicked,
And the haters of the righteous will be condemned.

is followed by another verse which does not belong to the alphabetical arrangement: פדה יהוה נפש עבדיו
ולא יאשמו כל החסים בו׃

JHVH redeems the lives of His Servants,
Whosoever takes refuge with Him will not be condemned.

Now it is difficult to see what could have induced the poet to add another פ stanza after the alphabet had been exhausted. The explanation, still offered by König in his *Lehrgebäude* 1 § 8, e, p. 37, that the two פ verses represent the difference of pronunciation between פ and פ̄ is untenable. Jerome in his Commentary on *Daniel* (11, 45) remarks: *Notandum autem quod P literam Hebraeus*

* Cf. also Smend's remark quoted above, p. 7.

** On the systematic reading from the Prophets in the Synagogue services compare Wildeboer, *Die Entstehung des alttest. Kanons*, 1891, pp. 85, 115; Ryle, *Canon of the O. T.* p. 116 f.; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr. der Juden*[2], 1892, p. 6 f.; A. Büchler, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 6 (1893), pp. 1 ff.; (also 8, 528).

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*sermo non habeat sed pro ipsa utatur Phe cuius vim Graecum φ sonat.** His Jewish teachers in Palestine, therefore, still pronounced, in the fourth century, the פ throughout as a spirant, and consequently did not know as yet the difference between פ and ף. Jerome notes only one exception: the word אפדנו, Dan. 11, 45, which he transcribes *Apedno* with the comment, "*in isto tantum loco apud Hebraeos scribatur quidem Phe sed legatur Pe.*" That the *p* sound in the word אפדנו was not פ with dagesh lene is shown in a passage of Saʿadya's Commentary on the *Sefer Jezirah*,** where it is stated that the pronunciation of the פ in אפדנו lies between the pronunciation of ב and the פ with dagesh lene.*** We are thus informed from two different sides that the pronunciation of the פ in אפדנו formed an exception. Otherwise, in the fourth century at least, the פ was pronounced throughout as a spirant.† This pronunciation is further attested by the Septuagint, which almost invariably transcribes פ by φ, e. g. *Φαραώ*, *Φινεές* etc.††

There is, therefore, no warrant for the conjecture that the occurrence of two פ verses in an alphabetical Psalm represents a double pronunciation of the פ. Nor can it be supposed that we have here an attempt at giving a special representation of the literae finales. At the time when the Psalm was composed the final letters were not yet in use.†††

Lagarde, in a letter to the London Academy*† points to the alphabetical hymns in the prayerbook of the Jews, where the name of the author is invariably expressed in the verses following the end of the alphabet,**† as probably offering a solution of the difficulty.

* *opp.* ed. Vallarsi, editio altera, Venetiis MDCCLXVIII, 5, 723, 724.

** On the *Sefer Jezirah* see Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr.*², p. 175; Delitzsch, *Physiologie und Musik*, Leipzig 1868, p. 10 f. Isidor Kalisch, *Sepher Yezirah*, New York 1877; Phil. Bloch in Winter-Wünsche, *Die Jüd. Litt. seit dem Abschluss d. Kanon*, 3, pp. 240 ff.

*** Cf. J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 16 (1870), p, 514. אפדנו is, of course, a loanword. Cf. *ZDMG*, 29, 433; 39, 48; Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 1, 224; *Persische Studien*, Gött. 1884, p. 71; Fränkel, *Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 27. It has passed into the Semitic languages (Ar. فدن, Aram. אפדנא) from the Persian. See also Bezold, *Achämeniden-Inschriften*, p. 45, No. XVII, l. 8.

† Cf. Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.*, 30, p. 511 f.; Siegfried, *Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieron.*, *ZAT*, 4, p. 63.

†† For exceptions see Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu d. Sept.*, 1841, p. 112.

††† See the table of Semitic Characters by J. Euting in Gust. Bickell's *Outlines of Hebr. Grammar*, transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Jr., 1877 and in Zimmern's *Vergl. Gramm. d. sem. Spr.*, 1898. Compare also L. Blau, *Zur Einl. in d. hl. Schrift*, Budapest 1894, p. 100 f.; Chwolson, *Corp. Inscript. Hebr.* p. 68; also pp. 408—410.

*† Dated Göttingen, Dec. 6, 1871, appeared 1 Jan. 1872; reprinted in *Symmicta* 1 p. 107; cf. *ibid.* p. 120.

**† Cf. Zunz, *Die synagog. Poesie d. Mittelalters*, Berl. 1855, p. 104 f.

He believes that the name of the Psalmist, Phaidaias, is marked by the acrostic of v. 23. Lagarde is followed by Techen, Rahlfs, and Duhm.* This view is ingenious; see, however, against it Georg Beer, *Individual und Gemeindepsalmen*, Marburg 1894, p. 30; Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*, London 1888, p. 71; *The Origin and Religious Ideas of the Psalter*, London 1891, p. 248; B. Jacob, *Beitr. zu einer Einl. in d. Psalmen*, ZAT, 16, p. 153, n. 1.

Kennicott,** reading ופדה, believes the verse to have been transposed from its original place after v. 5, where the ו verse is wanting. Driver*** holds that it originally stood after the ע verse, giving a subject for *cried* in v. 18. It ought, however, to be noticed that v. 23, as is shown by its very wording, is evidently intended to form a strong contrast to the preceding v. 22. It is, in fact, a mere antithetic repetition adding to the poem no new thought whatever. It is, therefore, difficult to escape the conclusion that v. 23 did originally not form part of the Psalm, but is a later addition.† To end the Psalm with the words *the haters of the righteous will be condemned*, was felt to be of evil omen.

(2) Ps. 19, v. 15.

A case resembling Eccl. 12, 14 is met with in Ps. 19, vv. 14. 15. Here the last but one verse ends with the ominous expression פשע רב:

גם מזדים חשך עבדך אל ימשלו בי
אז איתם ונקיתי מפשע רב:

Also from the arrogant protect Thy servant, that they rule me not,
Then shall I be blameless and free from gross transgression.

This verse is followed by the liturgical formula:

יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי
לפניך יהוה צורי וגואלי:

May the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be accep-
O JHVH, my Rock and Deliverer! [*table to Thee,*

Budde, in his review†† of Wellhausen's Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text of the *Book of Psalms* in the Polychrome Bible, has recognized that

* L. Techen, *Zwei Göttinger Machzorhandschriften*, 1884, p. 10; *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894, p. 226; A. Rahlfs ענני *und* ענו *in den Psalmen*, Gött. 1892, p. 41; B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, 1899, p. 79.

** *Remarks on Select Passages of the OT*, Oxford 1787, p. 187.

*** *Intr. to the OT*[6], p. 368 n. *.

† So also B. Jacob, *ZAT*, 16, p. 153.

†† *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.*, 1896, cols. 561 f.

the verse forms a later appendix, without, however, specifying its character. In the English edition of the *Polychrome Bible*, Wellhausen regards it as "a liturgical concluding verse" not forming part of the original poem. Note especially the difference of metre between v. 15 and the preceding vv. 7—14. The addition appears to have been made in order that the Psalm may not end with the words of evil import פשע רב, but rather with the comforting expression יהוה צורי וגואלי.

(3) Ps. 27, v. 14.

An application of the same principle may be observed in Ps. 27 where the last but one verse reads:

לולא* האמנתי לראות בטוב יהוה בארץ חיים

Did I not trust to enjoy the goodness of ℑHVH in the land of the living —!

The apodosis has been omitted, and, to correct the sad impression made on the congregation, the encouraging words of v. 14 which, as Justus Olshausen** has rightly remarked, are distinctly to be recognized as ἐπιφωνήματα ("*sondern sich als Epiphonem gänzlich ab*") were added:

קוה אל יהוה
חזק ויאמץ לבך
וקוה אל יהוה:

Hope in ℑHVH!
Be strong, keep thy heart steadfast!
Yea, hope thou in ℑHVH!

(4) Ps. 31, v. 25.

חזקו ויאמץ לבבכם
כל המיחלים ליהוה:

Be strong, and keep your heart steadfast,
All ye who are waiting for ℑHVH!

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* The Masorites have marked לולא by the *puncta extraordinaria* as a delendum. It is, however, supported by 𝔗 and 𝔊 (ἐαυτῇ = לי). Cf. Swete, *Introduction to the OT in Greek*, Cambridge 1900, p. 444. Grätz (*Emend. in Plerosque Sacr. Script. Vet. Test. Libros*, 2, Breslau 1893, p. 29), proposes to read: לי לא, construing לא האמנתי (13): ויפיחו חמס לי, but without reason. Similarly T. K. Abbott (*Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*, London 1891, p. 24), reads לא *I did not believe*. Kaulen (*Einl. in d. hl. Schrift*[3], Freiburg i. B. 1892, 2, p. 312, § 308) omits it on the basis of 𝔊(?) and 𝔖. The verse is to be explained *per aposiopesin*. So Hitzig, Hupfeld-Nowack, F. W. Schultz, Delitzsch, Baethgen, Reuss, Duhm.

** *Die Psalmen erklärt* von Just. Olshausen, Leipz. 1853, p. 137. So also B. Jacob, *l. s. c.*; Duhm, *Psalmen*, p. 84.

The Psalm is a prayer for deliverance from distress. The poet describes how his body and soul are worn out with grief (vv. 10. 11). His neighbors deride him, and his acquaintances flee before him in terror. He is forgotten by his friends, whilst his foes press hard upon him conspiring against his life (vv. 12. 13). But he trusts in JHVH (vv. 3. 4. 14), in whose hand his fortune lies (v. 15). For God is helpful towards His pious ones (v. 20). This confidence gives him the assurance that JHVH will hear his prayer, rescue him, and ruin his foes as He has done in the past. And so he can admonish all pious ones to the same confidence and love for JHVH:

אהבו את יהוה כל חסידיו
אמונים נצר יהוה
ומשלם על יתר עשה גאוה׃

Love JHVH, all ye His trusty ones!
*JHVH keeps faith,**
And requites abundantly him who acts haughtily.

This seems to have been the original conclusion of the Psalm.** The verse following simply repeats the sense of v. 24, and occurs again, almost literally, as the anti-ominous epiphonema of Ps. 27 (Nr. 3). It seems to have been added in order that the final utterance of the worshipper may conclude with more auspicious words than v. 24c: ומשלם על יתר עשה גאוה.

(5) Ps. 2, v. 12c.

אשרי כל חוסי בו׃

Happy all they who in Him put their trust!

This verse disturbs the parallelism, nor is it required by the context.*** The more natural, and at the same time more impressive, conclusion seems to be vv. 10—12b, an admonition to the kings and rulers of the earth who conspire against JHVH and His anointed,† (v. 2) to serve JHVH, as the great and awful day of JHVH is at hand:

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* So 𝔊: ἀληθειας ἐκζητεῖ Κύριος. 𝔖, 𝔗, Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Riehm, Delitzsch, Duhm. — 𝔗, 𝔄, Jer., A. V., Halévy (*Revue Sémit.*, 3, 36), translate אמונים as concretum = *fideles* 'the faithful.' Duhm (*Psalmen*, p. 93), supplies לאהביו.

** So also B. Jacob, *l. s. c.* *** So also Sommer, *Bibl. Abhandl.*, p. 117.

† On משיח see Lagarde, *Psalt. Copt.*, VII; *Semitica*, 1, 50; *Symmicta*, 2, 92; *Übersicht über die im Aram., Arab. u. Hebr. übliche Bildung d. Nomina*, Gött. 1889, pp. 90—109; *Register u. Nachträge*, pp. 62—65; *Mitth.*, 4, p. 389; *Deutsche Schriften*, Gött. 1892, pp. 53, 95, 128. On Messianic Psalms *cf.* D. G. Stevens in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 106 (June 1893), p. 108b. See also Stade, *Akad. Reden und Abhandl.*, Giessen 1899, pp. 39 ff.

Be wary, therefore, ye kings!
Ye rulers of earth be advised!
Wait ye on JHVH with fear,
. . . . . with trembling!*
*. . . . . .** lest He be angry, and ruin seize you!*
For His anger is easily kindled.

The same feeling which shrunk from concluding Lamentations with the thought of JHVH's wrath prompted here the addition of the verse which forms the present conclusion of the Psalm, אשרי כל חוסי בו, thus making it suitable for liturgical use.

(6) Ps. 3, v. 9.

V. 8 forms the proper conclusion of Ps. 3.*** The psalmist breaks out in lament over the multitude of his foes. His position is so desperate that, even among his friends and followers, there are some

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* 𝔐 וגילו *rejoice*, 𝔊 ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ; so A. V., Hengst., Hupf., Del., Kautzsch, Baethgen, *al.* "*Neque* 𝔖 (*Marc.* 14, 44 = κρατήσατε αὐτόν) *neque* 𝔗 (צלו = 𝔖 *Matth.* 5, 44 = προσεύχεσθε) *qua ratione ad* גילו *exprimendi pervenerunt intellego*". Lagarde, *Novae Psalt. Graeci Edit. Specimen*, Gött. 1887, p. 23. Ewald, Hitzig, Cheyne = חילו *shake*. But *shake with trembling* is tautologically.

** The Masoretic נשקו בר is usually translated, with 𝔖, Ibn Ezra, Santes Pagnini of Lucca, *kiss the Son! Son* in Hebrew, however, is בן, not בר which is Aramaic. And how shall we explain the absence of the article? Moreover, as Briggs (*Mess. Proph.*, N. Y. 1886, p. 136), and Wellhausen (*Critical Notes on the Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 76), have observed, in vv. 11 and 12 only JHVH is mentioned, and the following context would more naturally be referred to Him. The supposition, therefore, of Heiligstädt (*Die Psalm.*, Halle 1876), Delitzsch, and Baethgen that בר has been written to avoid the cacophony בן פן does not commend itself. The text is corrupt. 𝔄 translates καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς; 𝔖, προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, Jer. (*Psalt. iuxta Hebr.* ed. Lagarde, p. 5) *adorate pure*, taking בר as an adverb. So also Saʿadya, Paulus (*Philol. Clavis über die Psalm.*², Heidelberg 1815, p. 14), Bruston (*Du texte primitive des Psaumes*, Paris 1873, p. 76), Briggs, Kirkpatrick. But the existence of בר as an adverb cannot be shown. Nothing is gained by changing, with Hupfeld and others, בר into בו. נשקו בו is not Hebrew. 𝔊 has δράξασθε παιδείας, 𝔗 קבילו אולפנא, 𝔍 *apprehendite disciplinam.* Lagarde (*Nov. Psalt. Graeci Edit. Specimen*, p. 24) emends נשקו מוסרו "*nisi forte* מוסריו *vel* מוסרתיו *preferas.*" Cf. also Techen, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894, p. 226. Grätz proposes to read חחזיקו במוסר (*Emend.* 2, 27), and Cheyne, following Brüll (*Jahrb. f. jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.*, 1885, p. 67), suggests בקשו פניו. Duhm, following Marti, thinks בר may be abbreviation for ברעדה, and נשקו ברעדה a marginal gloss to גילו ברעדה. For גילו he proposes to read ושחו *and bow down* (Is. 51, 23). J. D. Prince in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 19 (Boston 1900), p. 3 reads ונשקו לו ברעדה, *and cleave to him with trembling*, omitting גי and בר as dittograms. See also Loisy, *Hist. crit. du texte de l'AT.*, 1892, p. 235.

*** So also B. Jacob, *ZAT*, 16, 152; Budde, *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.*, 1896, col. 561.

who reckon him as forsaken by God. But he remembers that JHVH is his protector and sustainer. What need he fear! And he calls upon JHVH for help:

קומה יהוה הושיעני אלהי
כי הכית את כל איבי לחי*
שני רשעים שברת:

Arise, O JHVH! help me, my God!
Thou shatterest the jaws of all who are foes to me.
Thou breakest the teeth of the wicked.

This might have left a painful impression on the mind of the worshipper, especially as perhaps the conscience of many of them was not so clear as to make an application to themselves entirely out of the question. To counteract it the following verse 9, which apparently has no connection with the idea of the poem, seems to have been added:

ליהוה הישועה
על עמך ברכתך:

Victory belongs unto JHVH.
Bestow on Thy people Thy blessing!

(7) Ps. 104, v. 35c.

For the same reason, it appears, the opening words of Ps. 104:

ברכי נפשי את יהוה

Bless JHVH, O my soul!

have been repeated at the close of the Psalm. The liturgical character of the formula is unmistakable.** Without it the Psalm would have closed with the threatening words:

יתמו חטאים מן הארץ
ורשעים עוד אינם:

Let sinners vanish from the earth,
And no wicked be therein any more!

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* Lagarde (*Nov. Psalt. Graeci Edit. Spec.*, p. 28), and Kaulen (*Einl.*[3], 2, p. 312), following 𝔗 and 𝔖 (Σ'), read על לחיָם or על לחיחם; 𝔊 *ματαλως* = לחנָם.

** The formula occurs again at the beginning and end of Ps. 103. There also it appears to be out of place.

(8) Ps. 7, v. 18.

אודה יהוה כצדקו
ואזמרה שם יהוה עליון:*

I give thanks to JHVH according to His righteousness,
And sing praises to the Name of JHVH, the Highest.

This verse stands apart from the body of the poem (so also Olshausen, Budde, Wellhausen), and is best explained as a liturgical appendix, added so as not to close with the curse contained in v. 17:

ישוב עמלו בראשו
ועל קדקדו חמסו ירד:

On his own head his mischief returns,
On his own crown his outrage recoils.

(9) Ps. 13, v. 6,

The psalmist oppressed by his enemies feels himself forsaken by JHVH. In the anguish of his heart, he asks how long this state of suffering is to last. He fervently begs JHVH to hear him and to preserve him from death, *lest my foe may then say: I have mastered him, and mine oppressors exult because I am tottering.* Now this prayer for help, born out of deep anguish, suddenly gives way to exultation and thanksgiving for the favor which JHVH has shown towards him (v. 6):

ואני בחסדך בטחתי
יגל לבי בישועתך
אשירה ליהוה כי גמל עלי:

I trust in Thy loving-kindness;
Let my heart exult because of Thy help.
I will sing praises to JHVH because He has favored me.

This seems strange. Formally also the verse stands apart from the rest of the Psalm, and can hardly be regarded as a strophe by itself, whilst vv. 2. 3 stand in parallelism to vv. 4. 5. The verse may have arisen from the unwillingness to end the Psalm in the Temple-service without a gleam of hope. This conjecture seems further to be confirmed by the fact that 𝔊 has the verse in an enlarged form, *καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου τοῦ ὑψίστου* being taken from the appendix Ps. 7, v. 18 (cf. above, No. 8).

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* Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, 1863, *in loc.*), and G. Hoffmann (*Über einige phönic. Inschriften*, Abh. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Gött., 36, 48 ff.) construe עליון with שם, but it seems better to refer it, with Nestle (*Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tüb. 1893, pp. 32—34), to יהוה.

(10) Ps. 14 (53), v. 7.

מי יתן מציון ישועת* ישראל
בשוב יהוה** שבות*** עמו
יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל:

Ah, if out of Zion would only come Israel's help,
Through JHVH's turning the captivity of His people!
Then would Jacob exult, yea Israel rejoice.

The tristich has no organic connection with the Psalm, as has been felt by Köster, Olshausen, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Budde, Grimme, and Duhm.† None of them, however, offer any explanation for the epiphonema. It seems to be due to the desire to avoid concluding

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* Ps. 53 reads ישעות.

** Ps. 53 reads אלהים. The name of God occurs seven times in this Psalm. But while in the form in which we read it as Ps. 14, the *tetragrammaton* is used four times, אלהים is substituted for it in the recension of Ps. 53. This Elohistic phraseology is certainly not due to the author of the Psalm, but to an editor. Similarly Ps. 70 is the Elohistic redaction of Ps. 40, 14—18c. The change has been made three times. Instead of אלהי, v. 18, we should read יהוה (Ewald). In Ps. 45, v. 7 אלהים has been substituted for יהיה, which a subsequent reviser mistook for יהוה. Readings like אלהים אלהי *God, my God* instead of יהוה אלהי *JHVH, my God* 43, 4, אלהים אלהיך 45, 8, אלהים אלי 63, 2, אלהים אלהינו 67, 7, אלהים אלהי ישראל 68, 9, can hardly be defended as coming from the authors. The same is true of אלהים צבאות 80, 5. 8. 15. 20. Cf. 59, 6; 84, 9. This preference for the appellation אלהים instead of יהוה is a distinguishing feature of the Second and Third Books of the Psalter. Cf. Delitzsch, *Symbolae ad Psalmos illustrandos isagogicae*, Lipsiae 1846, 1, pp. 1 ff., 10. Lagarde, *Orientalia*, 2, Gött. 1880, p. 13 f.; *Symmicta* 1, pp. 55, 117; *Mitth.*, 3, p. 366; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 90 f; Kaulen, *Einl.*[3], p. 310 (§ 307); A. Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*, Leipzig 1893, p. 35 f.; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Komment. über die Psalmen*[5], Leipz. 1894, p. 17; Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Hebr. Bible*, p. 367; Baethgen, *Die Psalmen*[2], p. XXX f.; Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible* (Engl. Transl.) pp. 162, l. 28; 182, ll. 2—6.

*** As regards שוב שבות *to turn the captivity* (*to change misfortune into prosperity*) see Ewald, *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss.*, 5, 216 f.; J. Olshausen, *Die Psalmen*, p. 76 (*ad* Ps. 14); Kamphausen, *Theol. Arbeit. d. rhein. wiss. Predigervereins*, 2, 1 ff.; *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1882, p. 187 (review of Smend's *Ezechiel*); Briggs, *Mess. Proph.*, p. 163, n. 1; Hupfeld-Nowack, *Die Psalmen*[3], Gotha 1888, 1, p. 220; Schwally, *ZAT*, 8, 374; 15, 373; Barth, *Vergleichende Studien*, *ZDMG*, 41, 617 ff.; Dillmann, *Hiob*[4], Leipz. 1891, p. 358; Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in The Old Test.*, Boston 1894, p. 80, n. 153; E. Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, 1—74; J. P. Valeton Jr., *Amos u. Hosea*, übers. v. Fr. K. Echternacht, Giessen 1898, p. 213, n. 42. Cf. also F. Giesebrecht on Jer. 30, 18; Nowack on Amos 9, 14; Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, p. 41.

† Köster, quoted by Olsh., *Die Psalmen*, in loc.; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 197; *Book of Psalms*, 1895, p. 35; Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen*[5], p. 146; Grimme, *ZDMG*, 50, 568; Budde, *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.*, 1896, col. 561; Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, p. 40 f. So also Rosenmüller, and Hengstenberg, *Beitr.*, 1, p. 142 (but comp. Hengst., *Comment. über die Psalmen*[2], Berlin 1849, p. 293); Loisy, *Hist. crit.*, p. 213.

the Psalm with the terrible thought contained in v. 6 which in its original form appears to have been preserved in Ps. 53:*

כי אלהים פזר עצמות חנף**
הבישתם*** כי אלהים מאסם:

For God scattered the bones of the impious,
Thou broughtest them to shame because God cast them off.

(11) Pss. 21, v. 13; 28, vv. 6—9; 64, v. 10.

רומה יהוה בעזך
נשירה ונזמרה גבורתך:

Arise, O JHVH, in Thy might,
That of Thy power we may sing, and to Thee we may play.

The verse has no organic connection with the poem, as has been seen by Dr. Jacob (*l. c.*). It may be due to the desire to obtain for the Psalm a more auspicious conclusion than v. 12 would have been:

Thou wilt put them (viz. *Thy foes*) *to flight,*
And aim at their face with Thy bowstring.

כי תשיתמו שכם
במיתריך תכונן על פניהם:

The same appears to apply to Ps. 28, vv. 6—9; 64, v. 10. Cf. also Ps. 3, v. 9 (No. 6).

(12) Ps. 29, v. 11.

יהוה עז לעמו יתן
יהוה יברך את עמו בשלום:

JHVH imparts strength to His people,
JHVH blesses His people with welfare.

Psalm 29 describes the majestic appearance of JHVH in a terrific thunderstorm. With this special theme of the poem v. 11 stands in a very loose connection. According to the usual interpretation an application is here made to the people:† the almighty Lord of

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* So Hitzig, Olsh., Bertheau, Wellh.; cf. also Baethgen, *Die Psalmen*[2], pp. 37. 154.

** 𝔐 חנך, 𝔊 *ἀνθρωπαρέσκων* = *ὑποκρίτης*: חנף. So already L. Cappellus in his *Critica Sacra* (rec. Vogel, Halae 1775), p. 605 f.

*** 𝔐 חבישתה.

† Delitzsch: "*Der Schluss des Ps. zeigt uns auf der Erde inmitten des allerschütternden Zornrufs JHVH's sein sieghaftes und mit Frieden gesegnetes Volk.*" Cf. also J. Halévy, *Rev. Sémit.*, 3, 27.

Nature is the faithful protector of His people. But it is more likely that Olshausen, Grätz, Beer, Reuss, and Jacob* are right in judging the verse, which occurs again in another connection (Ps. 28, 8. 9), as not originally belonging to the poem. The proper conclusion of the Psalm seems to be v. 10 where the purpose of JHVH's appearance in the storm is declared:

יהוה למבול ישב
וישב יהוה מלך לעולם:

*JHVH has seated Himself (upon His judgment-seat) to bring on a deluge,***
And as King He is throned to all eternity.

Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, Basileae 1732, p. 227) well expresses the sense of the passage: *Sicut Deus humanum genus judicavit tempore diluvii ita et in posterum judicare perget.* The demand for a propitious conclusion seems to have prompted the addition of another verse, thereby making the Psalm suitable for devotional use.

(13) Ps. 79, v. 13.

Psalm 79 is a passionate cry to JHVH to turn His wrath from Israel and to pour it out over the heathen who have desecrated the sanctuary, devastated the city, and slain the Khasidîm, the loyal worshippers and followers of JHVH; and it reaches its climax with vv. 11 and 12:

תבוא לפניך אנקת אסיר
כגדל זרועך התר*** בני תמותה:
והשב לשכנינו שבעתים אל חיקם
חרפתם אשר חרפוך אדני:

Let the moan of the prisoner come before Thee!
According to Thy great power free those who are doomed to death!

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* Grätz, *Krit. Comment. zu d. Psalmen*, Breslau 1882, in loc.; G. Beer, *Individual- u. Gemeindepsalm.*, p. 33; Reuss, *D. Alte Test.* übers., Braunschweig 1893, 5, p. 100; B. Jacob, *l. s. c.*

** So Luther: *Der Herr sitzt eine Sintflut anzurichten.* For ישב למבול cf. Is. 28, 6 and ישב למשפט Pss. 122, 5; 9, 5. 8. The translations of 𝔊 *Κύριος τὸν κατακλυσμὸν κατοικιεῖ*, 𝔙 *Dominus diluvium inhabitare facit*; Psalt. iuxta Heb., *Dominus diluvium inhabitat*, 𝔖 ܡܐܒܕ ܠܡܒܘܠܐ ܝܬܒ give no proper sense. 𝔗 paraphrases: ריר בדרא דטובענא (var. בדר טופנא) על כורסי דינא יתב לאתפרעא מנחון ויתב על כורסי רחמין ושזיב ית נח ומלך על בנוהי לעלמי עלמין, *Dominus in generatione diluvii super sedem judicii sedit ut ultionem sumeret ab eis seditque super sedem miserationum et liberavit Noah et regnavit super filios eius in saecula saeculorum.*

*** 𝔐 חותר, 𝔊 *περιποιήσαι*, Jer. *relinque.* But the reading of 𝔖 ܫܪܝ, 𝔗 שרי = חַתַּר (cf. 105, 20; 146, 7) agrees better with the preceding אסיר; so Baethg., Wellh.

Repay sevenfold to our neighbors, enough to fill the bosom of their garments,
The calumnies wherewith they have calumniated Thee, O Lord!

V. 13 which reads:

ואנחנו עמך וצאן מרעיתך
נודה לך לעולם
לדור ודור נספר תהלתך

We, Thy people and the flock of Thy pasture,
Will eternally thank Thee,
And rehearse Thy glory forever and ever,

follows quite abruptly, having no connection with the general meaning of the Psalm. Omitting this verse, the Psalm contains three regular stanzas with four verses each.* It is, therefore, difficult to escape the conclusion that we have here an addition due to the unwillingness to conclude with the thought of JHVH's awful revenge.

(14) Ps. 82, v. 8.

קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ
כי אתה תמשל** בכל הגוים:

Arise, O God! judge Thou the earth;
For Thou rulest over all the heathen.

The Psalmist represents God as standing in the solemn assembly holding judgment over the heathen gods.*** He severely reproves their unjust rule. They are without knowledge, without sense, and therefore do not deserve to rule forever, but shall die like human rulers:

כאחד השרים תפלו

Like any of the princes shall ye fall!

The following v. 8, expressing the wish for the speedy coming of the Messianic Kingdom, stands isolated. Without it the poem consists of two strophes, with three verses each, v. 1 forming the introduction. V. 8 is, therefore, probably a later addition† due to the ill-omened character of v. 7:

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* De Wette, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Wellhausen, et al.

** So Wellhausen, Halévy for תנחל.

*** Cf. M. Hess, *Magazin f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.*, 1873, pp. 203 ff.; Hertlein, *Versuch zur Interpret. des 82. Psalms*, Stud. aus Württemberg, 1884, pp. 152 ff.; 1886, pp. 315 ff.; Wellhausen, *Psalms*, in the *Polychrome Bible* (Engl. Transl.), p. 198, l. 25 f.; 187, l. 30 f. Compare Pss. 29; 58.

† So also Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, p. 211.

Yet ye shall die as men die,
Like any of the mortal princes shall ye fall.

By means of the appendix the evil consequences which otherwise might befall them would be warded off, and the Psalm would thus become suitable for use in the Temple service.

(15) Ps. 107, v. 43.

מי חכם וישמר אלה
ויתבוננו חסדי יהוה׃

Whoso is wise, let him give heed to these things,
And lay the good deeds of JHVH to heart.

The verse appears to be a later addition to Ps. 107. The Psalm is an exhortation to thank JHVH for many deliverances from diverse calamities, and for the gathering of the dispersed from all parts of the earth. In a series of four stanzas, of similar construction and closing with the same refrain, the Psalmist adduces striking examples of JHVH's help. Redeemed Israel is compared to a caravan which has lost its way in the desert, but is rescued by JHVH (vv. 4—9); to captives released from prison and bonds (vv. 10—16); to such as have been sick, but healed (vv. 17—22); to seafaring merchants protected by JHVH in storm and tempest (vv. 23—32). Then follows in vv. 33—42 a prophetic view of the Messianic age destined for the people, when Israel will be richly blessed and her enemies humbled. V. 43, a general admonition to the wise Israelite to heed the good deeds of JHVH, which occurs also Hos. 14, 10, was hardly written by the poet of the Psalm. The gnomic style contrasts sharply with the lyrical tone of the Psalm and, in this respect especially, with the refrain.

The verse has been regarded by Olshausen and Budde as a liturgical epiphonema. The reason for the appendix seems to lie in the aversion to end the Psalm with the thought of wickedness; v. 42^{b} reads:

כל עולה קפצה פיה׃

All wickedness closes its mouth.

(16) Ps. 125, v. 5^{c}; 129, v. 8^{c}.

The words שלום על ישראל stand, like Ps. 34, 23, in strong contrast to the preceding statement:

והמטים עקלקלותם
יוליכם יהוה את פעלי האון׃

As for those who follow their crooked paths —
JHVH will destroy them together with the workers of iniquity!

This phrase is best regarded, with Grätz, Jacob, and Wellhausen, as a liturgical appendix. It appears intended to turn the mind from the fate of JHVH's enemies to the thought of Israel's prosperity.

On Ps. 129, 8c see above, p. 7; Stevens, *Crit. Comment. on the Songs of the Return*, pp. 167. 168. Cf. Ps. 27, 14.

(17) Ps. 146, v. 10.

ימלך יהוה לעולם
אלהיך ציון לדר ודר:

JHVH will be King forever,
Thy God, O Zion, through all generations.

This verse seems to be a euphemistic liturgical appendix to Ps. 146, in which the poet warns the congregation not to put their trust in weak man and praises those who confide in the faithful and ever-helpful JHVH. The present concluding verse shows by its direct address to Zion, אלהיך ציון, that it is intended for a liturgical purpose. But it hardly formed the original conclusion of this Psalm. It appears to be taken from Ex. 15, 18, where ימלך יהוה לעולם ועד forms the conclusion of the Song of Moses (R). The desire to make the Psalm, which would otherwise have ended with the ill-omened ודרך רשעים יעוה *the course of the wicked He leads to ruin*, suitable to be sung in the divine service, seems to have brought about the addition.*

(18) Hab. 3, vv. 18. 19.

The lyrical ode which we read as the third chapter of Habakkuk, was originally an independent poem, and was placed here by a compiler. It must have formed part of a liturgical collection, as is shown by the title and the musical notes, vv. 3. 9. 13. 19, both of which closely resemble those of the Psalter.**

The poet depicts in majestic imagery the appearance of JHVH on the earth for the purpose of executing vengeance on His foes

* According to B. Jacob, *ZAT*, 16, 152, it is a "*Schlusssegenhaftarah.*"

** Cf. Kuenen, *Hist.-Crit. Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van d. Boeken d. Ouden Verbonds*[2], Leiden 1889, 2 § 76; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 157; Budde, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1893, p. 392 f.; Cornill, *Einl.*, 3d and 4th ed., p. 195 f., § 34; Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*[3], p. 170. Comp. also Cheyne, *Founders of Old Test. Criticism*, New York 1893, p. 309; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, Gött. 1897, p. 265 f.; O. Happel, *Das Buch d. Proph. Habackuk*, Würzburg 1900, p. 45 f.; Nestle, *ZAT*, 20, 167 f.

(vv. 2—15). With anxiety, fear, and trembling he awaits the ירם צרה (vv. 15. 16) *when the fig-tree will not blossom, nor fruit be in the vines, the yield of the olive will fail, and the fields will bring no produce; when the flock will be cut off* from the fold, and the herds be wanting in the stalls* (v. 17**). Here the description comes to a sudden stop, and the poem, which bears the stamp of originality throughout, closes with words of rejoicing and gladness taken from Ps. 18 (vv. 33. 34. 47; cf. Ps. 25, 5): ואני ביהוה אעלוזה אגילה באלהי ישעי יהוה אדני חילי וישם רגלי כאילות ועל במות*** ידרכני, *I will rejoice in JHVH, I will exult in the God of my salvation. JHVH, the Lord, is my strength; He has made my feet like those of the hinds, and causes me to walk upon high places.* This propitious conclusion seems to have been substituted for the original ominous one, thus making the ode suitable for use in the liturgy.

II. Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the Prophets.

A. Euphemistic Additions to Prophetic Sections.

Isaiah.

(19) Is. 6, v. 13c.

זרע קדש מצבתה:

The stock thereof is holy seed.

A clear instance of a euphemistic liturgical appendix to a prophetical section seems to be v. 13c of Is. 6. C. 6 contains Isaiah's account of the vision of his consecration to the prophetic ministry. The commission which is given him by JHVH is a strange and disheartening one:

Go, and say to this people:
Hear on, but understand not! See on, but perceive not!
Make fat this people's heart, make dull their ears, and besmear their eyes,
Lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and their heart understand, and their health be restored.

Isaiah is appointed as JHVH's ambassador to His people for the purpose of making them entirely unfit to recover moral and

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* נגזר for 𝔐 גזר.

** Wellhausen and Nowack doubt the genuineness of v. 17 without sufficient reason.

*** 𝔐 במותי is due to dittography of the following י, 𝔊 ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπιβιβῶ.

intellectual soundness.* Is this to continue always? How long? the prophet asks anxiously. And the answer coming out of JHVH's mouth is a clear and emphatic *No* to the trembling prayer contained in Isaiah's question. It must continue until the desolating tide of the Assyrian has swept over the land. And should a fraction escape from the first assault, another attack will follow until it, too, shall be annihilated. It shall be with it as with a stump of a tree which has been cut down. The husbandman does not leave it in the ground; he burns it:

עד אשר אם שאו ערים מאין יושב ובתים מאין אדם והאדמה תשאר** שממה:
ורחק יהוה את האדם ורבה העזובה בקרב הארץ:
ועו־ בה עשיריה ושבה והיתה לבער
כאלה וכאלון אשר בשלכת*** מצבת בם

Until cities be waste without inhabitants, and houses without men, and the land be left a desolation,
12*And JHVH have sent the men far away, and in the heart of the land the deserted regions be wide.*†
13*And should there still be a tenth in it, this must in turn be consumed, Like the terebinth and the oak, whereof a stock after felling remains.*

The line which now follows: *The stock thereof is holy seed* זרע קדש מצבתה, stands in direct contradiction to the most natural interpretation of the preceding verses. There it is said, in continuation of vv. 11. 12, that the remaining tenth shall in turn be exterminated: ושבה והיתה לבער††; *πάλιν ἔσται εἰς προνομήν*, as 𝔊 reads. The Peshita gives the same sense, ܠܡܒܙܙ ܘܗܘܬ ܬܒܪ. Here, however, we have a direct denial of this statement: the stump of the tree of

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* Cf. V. Andreae, *Das Buch Jesaja aus dem Urtext*, Stuttgart 1892, p. 159; Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaja*[6], 1898, p. 59f.; J. Meinhold, *Jesaia und seine Zeit*, Freiburg i. B. 1898, p. 34f.; Karl Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Tübingen 1900, p. 67.

** Following 𝔊 and 𝔗; 𝔐 תִּשָּׁאֵה.

*** 𝔐 שלכת a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and hardly right. Grätz שלחבת.

† To understand these words as referring to an increase of those remaining in the land (𝔊𝔗) is forbidden by the context.

†† J. Barth (*Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaias*, 1885, p. 10), followed by Budde (*New World*, Dec. 1895 = *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 85, 1896, p. 69), and Kittel (*Der Prophet Jesaja*[6], in loc.), recognizing the contradiction existing between v. 13[a] and v. 13[b] if v. 13[a] is understood as the continuation of the threat in vv. 11. 12, interprets ושבה והיתה לבער in a comforting sense: *das Land wird nach der Verheerung der Feinde wieder beweidet werden.* This interpretation appears to be forced. בער is nowhere used *sensu bono*. In Is. 3, 14; 5, 5 it has the meaning *to lay waste*. The conjecture of Giesebrecht (*Beitr. zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 89. n. 1), that we should read וְעַד בָּהּ עשיריה ישבָה וגו' *und bis* (*nur*) *darin bleibt der zehnte Teil seiner Bewohner, wird es verwüstet werden*, will hardly commend itself.

Judah cannot be destroyed; it is imperishable, *a holy seed*, זרע קדש, an expression which occurs only in one other passage of the Old Testament, *viz.* Ezr. 9, 2, where we read: *For they* (the Israelites, priests, and Levites) *have taken some of their daughters* (the daughters of the Cananites, Hittites, and Jebusites mentioned in v. 1) *for themselves and for their sons* (as wives), *and so the holy seed has been mingled with the* (gentile) *inhabitants of the land, and the princes and rulers have been first in this trespass.* כי נשאו מבנתיהם להם ולבניהם והתערבו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות ויד השרים והסגנים היתה במעל הזה ראשונה. The idea of the holiness of Israel and Jerusalem, which is here expressed, is a characteristic one in post-Deuteronomic literature; cf. Deut. 7, 6; 26, 19; 28, 9; Lev. 19, 2; 20, 7; Ezr. 9, 28; Is. 48, 2; 52, 12; Zech. 14, 20, 21; Joel 4, 17; Dan. 8, 24; 12, 7. Kittel* regards the words as the expression of a fundamental view of the Isaianic prophecy. He points to cc. 7, 3; 10, 20—23; 4, 2; 11, 11. The Isaianic authorship of these passages, however, appears doubtful.** V. 13c is, moreover, wanting in 𝔊, as St. Jerome (ed. Vallarsi, 4, col. 100) already remarked: *Quod diximus 'semen sanctum erit quod steterit in ea' vel iuxta Aquilam 'sanctum erit germen eius' in LXX interpretibus non habetur sed de Hebraico et Theodotionis editione additum.* 𝔗's rendering, however, occurs in the *Complut.*, and many unimportant manuscripts of 𝔊 (see Holmes' and Parsons' apparatus), and 𝔊^{Mr} has it in the margin, asterisked; 𝔖^{H} has the words in the margin.

It is, therefore, difficult to escape the conclusion that we have here a later post-Exilic appendix.*** The verse very probably was added to counteract the painful impression which, as may easily be imagined, the original conclusion must have made on the minds of worshipping hearers and readers at a time when people stood in awe and fear before the Word of God and its possible evil effects on themselves.

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* *l. s. c.*

** Cf. Lagarde, *Semitica*, 1, pp. 8 ff.; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* übersetzt u. erklärt, Gött. 1892, pp. 75. 78. 85. 86; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, pp. 47. 106. 114.

*** So already Houbigant in his *Notae Crit. in Universos Vet. Test. Libros*, 2, p. 350: *Haec vero ultima verba* בם זרע קדש מצבתה *'in eis semen sanctum truncus eius' omittimus quae quidem non erant in Codice Hebr. Graecorum interpretum quaeque etiam abesse debent ab hodiernis. Vix credi potest, medias inter minas, easque prolixe enuntiatas, Isaiam velut ab abrupto haec interseruisse; id, quod super erit Judaeorum, fore semen sanctum, talemque sententiam, unico inciso, carptimque ac jejune enuntiasse.* Cf. also Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, p. 48; Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaias*, Gött. 1893, p. 72, n. 2; Cheyne, *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, London 1895, p. 27; H. G. Mitchell, *Isaiah* 1—12, 1897, ad loc.; Cheyne, *The Book of Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, especially p. 209, l. 38 of the English Translation; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, p. 69.

The Targum (*Prophetae Chaldaice*, ed. Lagarde, p. 231) paraphrases the concluding verses of c. 6 in the following manner: וישתארון בה חד מן עסרא ויתובון ויהון לצרבא כבוטמא וכבלוטא במיתר טרפוהי דמן ליבישין ועד כען אינון רטיבין לקיימא מנהון זרעא כין גלוותא דישראל יתכנשון ויתובון לארעהון ארי זרעא דקודשא ניצבתהון. *There will remain in it* (the land) *one out of ten, and they, in turn, shall be the prey of the flames; like the terebinth and the oak which, when their leaves fall, seem almost as if dried up, and yet retain enough sap to bear seed: so the exiles of Israel shall be gathered and return to their land, for a holy seed is their plantation.* Many commentators, following herein the Targumic interpretation, hold that the metaphor *the stock which after felling remains* is to be understood as giving a gleam of hope.* This assumption conflicts with the mission of the prophet as set forth in vv. 9. 10: to hasten the obduracy of the people in order that JHVH may put an end to Israel.**

(20) Is. 4, vv. 2—6.

This passage describes the glorious state of Palestine and Jerusalem in the Messianic age, especially the descent of the divine majesty to the Temple mount. As the ideas and the expressions of the whole passage are alike characteristically late, the style incoherent, the parallelism imperfect, and rhythm absent, it cannot be assigned to Isaiah.*** Kittel† points to Hos. 2, vv. 21 ff. and Is. 6, 13^{c} in support of the pre-Exilic and Isaianic character of the prophecy; but comp. Nos. 19 and 49. Stade,†† and Kittel also acknowledge that the genuineness of vv. 5^{b}—6 is questionable, but the evidence for the late origin of v. 5^{a} is as strong as that for vv. 6 and 5^{b}, and vv. 2—4 cannot be separated from vv. 5. 6, even if, as a last resource, we

* Cf. e. g. E. Meier's Comment. on the prophet Isaiah, Pforzheim 1850, p. 77.

** Meinhold (*Jesaia u. seine Zeit*, p. 36) thinks that *this people* (vv. 9. 10) is not equivalent to *all Israel*, and v. 13, therefore, not a prophecy of complete *national* ruin. He bases his view on the name *Shear-jashub* (Is. 7, 3) which Isaiah gives to one of his sons. But, as Cheyne in the *Critical Notes on Isaiah*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 86, l. 20 properly remarks, we have no right to suppose that Isaiah thought that JHVH would cease to have worshippers, because the *nation* was destroyed. He surely believed that those who faithfully preserved his prophecies would escape on the day of judgment (cf. c. 8, 16 f.). From cc. 3; 5; 28 we know, however, quite apart from the prophecy in c. 6, that Isaiah expected the doom of the existing national system. See also Duhm's remarks in his commentary on *Isaiah*, pp. 49. 63.

*** See Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 27; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, p. 30; Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung*, pp. 20 ff.; Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 20; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 35. 36; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, pp. 47 ff.

† Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Proph. Jes.*^{6}, p. 39.

†† *ZAT*, 4, 149 ff.

rearrange vv. 2—4 as Stade has done: vv. 4. 3. 2. The Messianic appendix appears to be prompted by the desire to obtain an auspicious conclusion to the foregoing prophecy in which Isaiah threatens the impending day of judgment, the fall of Judah, and the severest punishment for the proud ladies of Jerusalem. The prophecy thus became suitable for reading in the Synagogue.

(21) Is. 5, vv. 15. 16.

An example of an anti-ominous insertion is, probably, met with in vv. 15. 16 of c. 5 which read: וישח אדם וישפל איש ועיני גבהים תשפלנה: ויגבה יהוה צבאות במשפט והאל הקדש נקדש בצדקה: *So (all) humankind is bowed down, and man is brought low; but JHVH Sabaoth is (seen to be) high through judgment, and the holy God shows Himself holy through righteousness.*

No apparent connection can be traced between these verses and what precedes or follows them. They stand out of harmony with the thought and the plan of the prophecy in which Isaiah, denouncing in a series of woes the chief national sins, always addresses himself to definite classes of the population of Judah. In our passage, however, man *in genere* is spoken of; and whilst in the preceding lines the complete annihilation of Jerusalem and its haughty inhabitants is declared in the most emphatic terms, we read in v. 15 that men are simply humbled, bowed down, and then v. 16 follows, proclaiming the exaltation of the holy God of Israel and the deliverance of the worshipping community from men who in their pride did not obey the Law. It is, moreover, extremely doubtful whether an Isaiah would have written והאל הקדש נקדש; cf. v. 23 of c. 29 (likewise not genuine), where we find הקדישו את קדוש יעקב.* That the verses do not form part of the original prophecy has been recognized by Stade,** Duhm, Cheyne,*** Kittel, and Marti. None of them, however, it seems, gives a satisfactory explanation for the insertion. Taking into consideration that the verses cited form the conclusion of the severest threat in the prophecy,† they are, perhaps, best accounted for, if we assume that they were added in order to turn the mind of the hearer or reader away from the terrible thought of v. 14,

Therefore Sheol gapes ravenously, and opens the mouth to its widest;
And the splendor of Zion, and her busy throng, and all who are joyous within her, plunge (headlong) into it,

* See Duhm, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 191; Marti, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 57.

** *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, Berlin 1887, p. 605.

*** *Critical Notes on Isaiah*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 83, l. 39.

† As regards v. 17 see the commentaries of Duhm, Kittel, and Marti.

and direct it to the time when the God of Israel will reign supreme, and the worshipping community will be free from proud offenders against JHVH's holy law.

(22) Is. 8, v. 23.

כעת הראשון הקל ארצה זבלון וארצה נפתלי והאחרון * * * * * * * * * הכביד דרך הים עבר הירדן גליל הגוים: *In the former time He brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time He confers honor on the road of the Sea,** the other side of Jordan, the district of the nations.*

The historical situation to which this passage refers is the invasion by Tiglath-Pileser III (745—728) of the territory of Rezin, King of Damascus, and Pekah, King of Israel (736—730), who had concluded an alliance for the purpose of opposing a barrier to the aggression of the Assyrians.*** It was on the occasion of this invasion (734) that the districts in the North-East of Israel, including Gilead, Galilee, and Naphtali, were lost to Israel, and their inhabitants deported to Assyria.†

Gloomy days, the prophet proclaims in the foregoing prophecy, are destined to Israel. The Assyrian hosts will sweep over the land and leave it a desolation. Then those who have escaped the sword of the invaders will wander through the country, hungry and depressed, seeking help but will not find it. Anguish will be turned into blank despair. They will curse the king who should help but cannot, and the national God who could help but will not.†† They will

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* 𝔐 23a כי לא מועף לאשר מוצק לה, usually rendered: *For there is not a dark veil to (the land) which has anguish.* Duhm, Cheyne, and Kittel: *For is there not* (חלא) *a dark veil to the land which has anguish?* Paul Ruben in his *Critical Remarks*, p. 4, proposes to read: כי לא לָצַר מועף לאשר מוצק לה *but there shall not always be gloom, to her that was in anguish.* "These words are very recent, as they connect vv. 21. 22 with v. 23, which hardly belong together." V. 23a has been pronounced a gloss by Duhm, Peters (*Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1892, p. 45), Cheyne, Kittel, Marti.

** Rashi, Vitringa, and most modern commentators hold that the דרך הים is the road along of Lake Gennesaret. More probably, however, it is to be identified with the *via maris* of the Crusaders, leading from Accho to Damascus. Cf. Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild d. Jesaia*, Leipzig 1885, p. 41; Schumacher, *Palestine Exploration Fund*, Qu. St. 1889, p. 78f.; Baedeker, *Palestina*[5], Leipzig 1900, p. 295; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, London 1894, p. 428f.

*** Cf. Is. 7, 1 ff. (see on this chapter Lagarde, *Semitica*, 1, 9—13); 2 Ki. 16, 5 ff.

† Cf. 2 Ki. 15, 29; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 1, Stuttgart 1884, §§ 369. 370; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 597; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*[2], Calw 1891, p. 129; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, 1894, p. 81; Klostermann, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1896, p. 199; Kent, *History of the Heb. People*, 2, 1897, § 99.

†† So 𝔊 ΣΘΦ, Hitzig, Knobel, Ewald, Duhm, Kittel, Marti as is required by the context. Böttcher (*Neue Exeg.-Crit. Ährenlese*, Leipzig 1863, 2, p. 124), Delitzsch (*Comment.*

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look to heaven and earth, but cruel nature will give neither food nor rain:

ועבר בה נקשה ורעב
והיה כי ירעב והתקצף
וקלל במלכו ובאלהיו ופנה למעלה:
* * * * * ואל ארץ יביט
והנה צרה וחשכה מועף* צוקה
ואפלה מנדח:

And he will pass trough it, hard-pressed and famishing,
And it will be that, when he is famished, he will be enraged,
And will curse his king and his God, and turn his gaze upward,
** * * *, and to earth will he look,*
But behold, distress and gloom, a dark veil of anguish,
And thick darkness .....

These two verses (21. 22) with their vigorous and rhythmical style are certainly of Isaianic authorship,** and form an effective conclusion to the foregoing oracle. The verse which now follows, transports us suddenly into the 'latter time' when the region which suffered most, will be brought to honor and renown (v. 23). Siegfried*** sought to mitigate the abrupt transition between the two passages by transposing vv. 21. 22; but see Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 43. Many exegetes and critics think that v. 23 properly belongs to the following chapter. But c. 9 is a poetic and highly rhythmical composition, while this verse is mere prose. Barth, on the other hand, contends† that it stands in close connection with the preceding; the prophet states here, he says, how it will come about that those disobeying the prophetic counsel, with whom he contended in vv. 6. 11. 14. 19. 20 of our chapter, must wander about and find nothing but darkness. He translates: *Denn nicht kennt Ermüdung der (Feind), der gegen das Land aufgepflanzt ist. Das erste Mal kam er (der Feind, Assyrien) nur in das Land Zebulun und Naphtali; das spätere Mal aber, kommt er mit schwerem Heer den Weg am Meer entlang in das jenseitige Gebiet des Jordans, in die Heidenmark.* This also is untenable. To take הקל, as Barth does, in the sense of *wenig machen* (𝔊𝔖 ταχὺ ποιει) is against the usage of the language. It means *to make light* (𝔍 *alleviata est*), *to make light of*, here *to despise* (cf. 1 S. 6, 5; 2 S. 19, 44; Ex. 18, 22; 1 Ki. 12, 4. 9. 10; Ezr. 2, 27; 2 Chr. 10,

über Jes.[3]), and Cheyne (*Proph. of Isaiah*[3]) render: *he curses by his king and God.* The national God is here referred to (Duhm, Cheyne, Kittel, Marti), not an idol (𝔗, Hitzig, Meier, Bredenkamp, W. Robertson Smith).

* 𝔐 מעוף.

** See Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 42 f.

*** *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1872, p. 280.

† *Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Jes.*, p. 13.

4. 9. 10; Jona 1, 5; comp. Assyr. *qullulu* 'despise,' *qullultu** 'shame.' It forms an antithesis to כבד or הכביד *to honor, to confer honor.* Barth's rendering of הכביד in Jer. 30, 19, which he quotes in support of his interpretation, as *massenhaft, zahlreich machen* cannot be defended, since its opposite צער does not mean *wenig sein,* but *to be small, to be low*; cf. Ar. صغر, صغير, Ass. *ṣixru,* Syr. ܙܥܘܪ *ignominia affecit;*** Job. 14, 21; Zech. 13, 7.

The passage can scarcely be regarded as the work of Isaiah. The opening *in the latter day* is not in agreement with the style of the prophet. It will also be observed that the subject of the sentence, JHVH, is not explicitly expressed. This accords with the later custom of the Jews to avoid with the greatest scrupulousness the use of the *tetragrammaton* יהוה. They wrote either השם *the Name* (e. g. Mishnah, *Yoma* 3, 8), or they omitted it altogether.*** The expression הקל in the pregnant sense *to bring into contempt* occurs only in Ez. 22, 7 and in the post-Exilic passage Is. 23, 9,† while the antithetic הכביד *to bring to honor* is employed, besides Jer. 30, 19, only in one passage, 2 Chr. 25, 19. Elsewhere this idea is expressed by the Pi'ēl of the verb, not by the Hif'îl. As to the contents of the passage, it has its parallel in the late passage Is. 27, 13,†† and in Zech. 10, 10 where we read: והשבותים מארץ מצרים ומאשור אקבצם ואל ארץ גלעד ולבנון אביאם *I will restore them from the land of Egypt, and from Assyria I will gather them, and lead them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon.* Moreover, these verses appear to be in conflict with the attitude which the prophet manifests elsewhere towards Ephraim. If our passage were written by Isaiah, it would be the only one where he, after having just proclaimed the downfall of Ephraim, prophesied its restoration and glorification. In the whole group of the preceding prophecies, as well as in c. 17, a most severe tone predominates against Israel. With the greatest satisfaction, it seems, the prophet preaches the deportation of its inhabitants (8, 1—5) and the downfall of Samaria (c. 18).

The verses are best explained as a manifestation of the same feeling which recoiled from concluding Malachi with the thought of JHVH devoting the land to destruction. To close the prophecy

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* See Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 585; *The Heb. Language in the Light of Assyr. Research*, London 1883, p. 51. Cf. also Prof. Haupt in the *Critical Notes on Ezekiel*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, 1899, p. 81, l. 1.

** Cf. Haupt, *Beitr. z. assyr. Lautlehre*, Gött. Gel. Nachr., April 1883, p. 93 f., n. 7.

*** Cf. A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, Breslau 1857, pp. 261 ff.; T. K. Abbott, *Essays*, p. 52 f.; Driver, *Crit. Notes on Leviticus*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 31, ll. 48 ff.; Ginsburg, *Intr. to the Heb. Bible*, pp. 367 ff.

† See Duhm, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 142; Marti, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 179.

†† Cf. No. 25.

with the dark picture of misery, anguish, and despair, presented in vv. 21. 22, was apparently considered to be too ill-omened.

(23) Is. 18, v. 7.

A further euphemistic appendix appears to be the conclusion of the 18th chapter of Isaiah.* In c. 18 Isaiah prophesies the fall of the Assyrian. Before Hezekiah, king of Judah (727—699), in alliance with Elulaeus of Tyre and Çidqâ of Askalon, had completed his preparations against Assyria, Sennacherib (705—681) appeared in the beginning of 701 in Syria, reduced the cities of Phoenicia and Philistia, and invaded Judah.** To encourage Hezekiah to resist the invaders, Taharqa, king of Ethiopia and Egypt (704—685), sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to announce the dispatch of an Egyptian army.*** Isaiah tells them to return, as JHVH is not in need of human assistance. At the moment when the Assyrian plans ripen, they will be effectually intercepted, and the Assyrians themselves will be left a prey to beasts and birds on the mountains (v. 6):

יעזבו יחדו לעיט הרים ולבהמת הארץ
וקץ עליו העיט וכל בהמת הארץ עליו תחרף

They will be left together to the ravenous birds of the mountains
And to the beasts of the land;
Thereon the ravenous birds will summer,
Thereon all the beasts of the land will winter.

The verse now following, quite unexpectedly, refers to the Ethiopians, the *μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων* of Herodotus (3, 20. 114): בעת ההיא יובל שי ליהוה צבאות מעם† ממשך ומורט מעם נורא ומהלל גוי כבד ושם בו אשר קרעו נהרים†† ארצו אל מקום שם יהוה צבאות הר ציון: *At that time will a gift be brought to JHVH Sabaoth from a people tall and of polished skin, from a people dreaded*

* On c. 18 see Winckler, *Alttestamentl. Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1892, pp. 139—142, 146 ff.; also pp. 26 ff., and comp. Marti, *D. Buch Jes.*, pp. 150 ff.

** Cf. 2 Ki. 18, 13; Is. 36, 1; 2 Chr. 32, 1; I R. 38. 39.

*** Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 1, § 383; *Gesch. d. alt. Ägypt.*, pp. 343 ff.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 617; Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, 1, Gotha 1888, p. 308 f.; Klostermann, *Geschichte*, p. 207 f.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, p. 86 f.; Kent, *History of the Heb. People*, 2, p. 145; Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, Leipzig 1895, p. 182; *Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.*, 1892, p. 251; Hommel, *Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.*, Berlin 1885, p. 704; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.*[2], p. 203 f.; Meinhold, *Jes. u. seine Zeit*, p. 10 f. Cf. also Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, Berlin 1889, p. 300 f.

† מעם foll. 𝔊𝔍; so also Houb., Ew., Mei., Kno., Cheyne, Guthe, Grätz, Kaulen, Kittel, Marti.

†† So Cheyne, *Isaiah*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 108, ll. 40 ff.; 𝔄 reads: מיצם נורא מן חוא וחלאח גוי קו קו ומבוסח אשר בזאו נהרים:

and renowned, a nation of glory and fame, whose land rivers cut through, to the place of the Name of JHVH Sabaoth, Mount Zion. The passage is a prosaic imitation of v. 2 of the foregoing oracle which, like all of Isaiah's prophecies, is a rhythmical composition:

לכו מלאכים קלים אל גוי ממשך ומורט
אל עם נורא ומהלל גוי כבד ושם בו:

Depart, ye fleet messengers, ‖ to a nation tall and of polished skin,
To a people dreaded and renowned, ‖ a nation of glory and fame.

The phraseology confirms our doubt as to Isaiah's authorship.* Observe that יהוה צבאות occurs twice in the passage, hardly in accordance with Isaiah's style. The hope expressed of what will come to pass *at that time* does not agree with the situation in which the speech was uttered, nor is it the hope of Isaiah. It belongs rather to the eschatalogical system of a later age. Cf. e. g. Zeph. 3, 9. 10 which may have served as the basis of Is. 18, 7: כי אז אהפך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרא כלם בשם יהוה לעבדו שכם אחד מעבר הנהרי כוש * * * יובלון מנחתי *Then I will give pure lips to the nations, that they may all call upon the Name of JHVH to serve Him shoulder to shoulder. From beyond the Great River of Cush** * * * they will bring me offering.* Cf. Is. 45, 14; 60, 2. 3. 11; 61, 6b; 62, 2; 23, 18; Hag. 2, 7 f.; Ps. 68, 31.*** The *Name* refers in the system of later Judaism to the temple cult (Duhm).

The addition appears to have been made in order that the final impression of the prophecy be not that of a God crushing a mighty nation, especially in the way this is expressed in v. 6, but rather the cheerful vision of a most renowned people serving the God of Israel. Thus the prophecy was made suitable for religious use. The verse has been judged a later addition by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, and Kittel admits that this is possible.

(24) Is. 27, v. 6.

הימים† הבאים ישרש יעקב יציץ ופרח ישראל ומלאו פני תבל תנובה *In days to come Jacob will take root, Israel will blossom and bud; and they will fill the face of the earth with fruit.*

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* Cf. Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 98.

** According to Prof. Haupt the 'plural is amplificative; see, in the *Polychrome Bible*, the *Critical Notes on Isaiah*, p. 109, l. 9; *Critical Notes on Ezekiel*, p. 70, ll. 49 ff.; p. 72, l. 3; p. 81, l. 42. *The Great River of Cush* is the upper course of the Nile, the גיחון of Gen. 2, 13. See Paul Haupt, *The Rivers of Paradise*, Proc. Am. Or. Soc., March 1894, p. ciii; *Wo lag das Paradies?* Über Land und Meer, 1894/95, No. 15.

*** Cf. Max Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im Alt. Test.*, Freib. i. B. 1896, p. 23.

† Cf. Eccl. 2, 16. 𝔐 omits הימים.

This verse, being written in prose, stands apart from the Song of the Vineyard (vv. 2—5). Grätz* believes that vv. 7—10 are dislocated, and that v. 6 is to be joined to v. 9. This, however, seems forced. The tone of the two passages is too different to establish a proper connection between them. The verse apparently was added** so as not to close the preceding section with JHVH's threat against His enemies, but rather with an outlook into Israel's future prosperity.

(25) Is. 27, vv. 12. 13.

A further illustration of the principle may be observed in the concluding verses of c. 27 of Isaiah. VV. 12. 13 read: והיה ביום ההוא יחבט יהוה משבלת הנהר עד נחל מצרים ואתם תלקטו לאחד אחד בני ישראל: והיה ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול ובאו האבדים בארץ אשור והנדחים בארץ מצרים והשתחוו ליהוה בהר הק־ש בירושלם: *In that day JHVH will beat out ears of wheat from the River to the Torrent of Egypt,*** *and ye will be gleaned up one by one, ye Sons of Israel. In that day also a great horn*† *will be blown, and those will come who were lost in the land of Assyria,*†† *and those who were outcasts in the land of Egypt, and they will do homage to JHVH on the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.*

The promise made by God to Abraham, Gen. 15, 18 (J), *To thy descendants I will give this land from the Torrent of Egypt, to the Great River, the river Euphrates* shall be fulfilled. Like chaff the heathen shall be blown out of this territory,††† and the Israelites shall inhabit it. From the great Persian Empire and from Egypt

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* *Emend.*, 1, p. 14.

** The verse is considered a gloss by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti.

*** The נחל מצרים (Assyr. *naxal Muçri*) is not, as is commonly supposed (cf. Delitzsch, *Parad.*, p. 310; Buhl, *Geogr. d. alt. Palestina*, Freiburg i. B. 1896, p. 66; Hommel, *Isr. Überlieferung*, München 1897, pp. 242, 256 f.), to be identified with the *Wâdy el-ʿArîsh*, the stream which empties into the Mediterranian at *el ʿArîsh* (the ancient *Rhinocolura*) between Gaza and Port Said, but rather with the Wâdy which empties near *Tel-Rifah* (Raphia), further north, near the present frontier of Egypt. See Winckler, *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Maʿîn*, Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft, 1898, p. 9 f.; *The Book of Joshua*, in the *Polychrome Bible* (Engl. Transl. 1899), p. 81, ll. 35 ff.

† On the Shofar, its use and origin, see Cyrus Adler, *Proc. of the U. S. Nat. Museum* for 1892, vol. 16, pp. 287—301; Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 4, p. 192; cf. *The Polychrome Bible*, Notes on *Psalms*, p. 221; Notes on *Joshua*, pp. 62, 63.

†† Later writers use אשור not only for Assyria, but also for Babylonia and for the Persian empire (just as in Ethiopic *Fârs* is used not only for Persia, but also for Babylonia; Nebuchadnezzar is called king of Fârs). The view of Hitzig (*Jes. übers. u. ausgel.*, Heidelberg 1833, in loc.), Orelli (*Die Proph. Jes. u. Jer.*, Nördlingen 1887, in loc.), Bredenkamp (*D. Proph. Jes.*, Erlangen 1887, in loc.), that because Assyria and Egypt only are mentioned, the verses owe their origin to Isaiah, is, therefore, untenable.

††† So Duhm, Cheyne, Kittel, Marti.

where they have been dispersed, they shall come together to worship at Jerusalem. This stands in very strong contrast to the preceding statement:

For the fenced city (Jerusalem) *is solitary,* [*the wilderness;*
An abode whose inmates have been scattered, and deserted like
There calves feed, and there they lie down, and consume the
[*branches thereof.*
When its twigs are dry, they are broken off,
Women come, and set them ablaze:
For it is not a discerning people.

It will not discriminate between the worship of JHVH and the illegal religious rites of the Samaritans, who have forsaken JHVH, and forgotten His holy mountain, who prepare a table for Gad, the Syrian God of Fortune, and pour out mingled wine for Menî, the God of Destiny:*

Therefore has its Maker no compassion upon it,
And its Fashioner shows it no indulgence.

על כן לא ירחמנו עשהו
ויצרו לא יחננו׃

A most awful conclusion to the ears of a congregation which listened with the utmost apprehension of fear to the Word of God. To offset, as far as possible, any evil effects which might otherwise befall them, the proclamation of the fulfillment of JHVH's great promise seems to have been added.

That the verses are out of place after v. 11 has been acknowledged by Cheyne, who places them after 27, 1. Oort attributes v. 13 to the Redactor. V. 12, however, betrays by its והיה ביום ההוא the hand of the Redactor as well. This is the usual formula by which interpolations are introduced.

(26) Is. 28, vv. 5. 6.

ביום ההוא יהיה יהוה צבאות לעטרת צבי
ולצפירת תפארה לשאר עמו
ולרוח משפט ליושב על המשפט
ולגבורה למשיבי** מלחמה שערה׃

* Cf. Joann. Selden, *De Dis Syris Syntagmata*; ed. altera operâ M. A. Beyeri, Lipsiae, MDCLXXII, pp. 76 ff.; Jahn, *Bibl. Archäol.*, Wien 1805, 3, p. 516.

** Grätz (*Emend.*, 1, p. 14) would read ולגבורת משיבי for 𝔐 ולגבורה משיבי; but it is better to emend to למשיבי; the preposition has simply dropped out in 𝔐. So Cheyne in the *Polychrome Bible*; cf. Marti, *Jes.*, p. 204; Oort, *Emend.*, 1900, p. 99.

In that day will JHVH Sabaoth be a coronet of beauty
And a diadem of adornment to the remnant of His people,
And a spirit of judgment to him who sits on the judgment-seat,
And of might to those who beat back assailants from the gates.

These verses cannot, with Delitzsch, Dillmann, Guthe, König,* and others, be assigned to Isaiah, nor can they be accepted as the proper conclusion of the preceding prophecy on the overthrow of Samaria. Wildeboer** holds their original place to be after v. 29. But there they do not connect well with the foregoing didactic poem of which v. 29 is the fitting close. Besides, the rhythm of vv. 23—29 is different from that of vv. 5. 6. Versification and style remind us of the post-Exilic appendix, c. 4, 2—6:*** *In that day, to those of Israel who have escaped, the self-springing plants of JHVH† will be grace and glory, and the fruit of the land pride and adornment.* Note also the suspicious ביום ההוא. In the sense here intended, צפירה is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in the Old Testament. In Ez. 7, 7. 10, the only passages where the word occurs again, it is used in a different sense.†† In Mishnic Hebrew צפירה signifies band or hoop, and so here the band or fillet worn around the head, diadem. The שאר עמו is the usual title for the post-Exilic community,††† and is found nowhere in the genuine prophecies of Isaiah, but in the late passages 11, 11. 16; 10, 20; 4, 3. And can we really believe Isaiah to be capable of applying to JHVH the same epithets which before, in v. 1, he employed against Samaria and its drunken aristocrats?

Woe! the proud coronet of the drunkards of Ephraim
And the fading flower of her beauteous adornment,
Which crown the rich valley of those who with wine are down-smitten!

The prediction, moreover, that on the day when Samaria falls JHVH will give to *the remnant* — which would then refer to Judah

* Guthe in Kautzsch's *AT*; König, *Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.*, Bonn 1893, p. 316.

** G. Wildeboer, *D. Litteratur des Alt. Test. nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung*, übersetzt v. F. Risch, Gött. 1894, p. 166.

*** Cf. No. 20 (above, p. 25).

† The צמח יהוה refers, according to W. R. Smith (*Prophets*², p. 425, n 4), Briggs (*Mess. Proph.*, p. 194, n. 5), Cheyne (*Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 134, l. 30 ff.), Buhl (*Wörterbuch*), to the self-springing sprouts in contradistinction from cultivated plants. Cf. also Lagarde, *Semitica*, 1, p. 8 f.; *Mitth.*, 4, p. 139; A. Duff, *Old Test. Theology*, 1891, 1, p. 261; Franz Delitzsch, *Mess. Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge*, 1890, p. 96; G. Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtl. Bedeutung der hebr. Eigennamen*, Freiburg i. B. 1897, p. 39. The צמח יהוה is thus synonymous with שית חשדה Gen. 2, 4ᵇ (J); cf. Paul Haupt, *Journal of the Am. Or. Soc.*, 17, p. 158.

†† Usually rendered *fate, doom.* Cornill translates *crown*[?]. Cf. Krätzschmar, *D. Buch Ezechiel*, Gött. 1900, p. 75.

††† Cf. Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jesaiakrit.*, pp. 37—43.

— splendor, and glory, and warlike strength contradicts all we know of Isaiah's attitude in regard to Judah and its future. Compare the immediately following verse 7; v. 22; 29, 1—4. 9—15; 30, 1—17; 31, 1—4. Nowhere does the prophet spur the Jews on to battle. Judah is to trust in JHVH, and see its salvation in quietness and rest. It is precisely the earliest prophecies that are the most outspoken on this point. The passage is, however, not unlike the descriptions in 10, 20. 21; 11, 2. 3; 33, 5. 6. 23[b]; 55, 3, all of which are late.* The oracle naturally closes with vv. 3. 4: — ברגלים תרמסנה

עטרת גאות שכורי אפרים׃
וציצת נבל צבי** תפארתו
***על ראש גיא שמנים
והיתה† כבכרה†† בטרם קיץ
ראה הרואה אתה
בעודה בכפו יבלענה׃

With feet they shall be trampled upon —
The proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
And the fading flower of her beauteous adornment,
Which crown the rich valley;
And it will be like an early fig before the fruit-season,
Which as soon as a man sees in his hand, he swallows.

This might have left a sad impression on the minds of the worshipping hearers or readers, especially since, as stated above, p. 14, the conscience of many of them was not so clear as to make an application to themselves entirely out of the question. To counteract it the following vv. 5. 6 seem then to have been appended.††† The explanation of Giesebrecht*†, that vv. 5. 6 are a correction of

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* Cf. Duhm, *ad loc.*; Cheyne, *Intr.*, pp. 64f.; 51f.; 163f.; Marti, pp. 106; 113; 242; 357. The genuineness of Is. 11 is defended by J. Halévy, *Rev. Sémit.*, Jan. 1899, pp. 13—19, and Steuernagel, *ThLZ*, 26, 316.

** For 𝔊 וציצת נבל צבי Siegfried-Stade would emend, acc. to v. 5, וצפירת תפארתו. Cf. Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*[26], § 128w; König, *Syntax*, § 243f.

*** Omit אשר, following 𝔊.

† 𝔊 has והיתה at the beginning of v. 4, יהיתה ציצת; but by transposing יהיתה with Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti, we obtain a second subject for the plural ירמסנה cf. Stade, *Heb. Gram.*, p. 298, last l.; König, *Lehrgeb.*, 1, p. 183, l. 4., and get rid of the comparison, assumed by 𝔊, of a flower to a fig.

†† 𝔊 בכורת; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, II. 1, p. 201, l. 11 from the bottom.

††† The fact that the passage is not genuine is recognized by A. Sörensen, *Juda u. d. assyr. Weltmacht*, 1885, p. 13; Duhm, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 172; Hackmann, *Zukunftserwart.*, p. 28f.; Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 181; P. Volz, *Die vorexil. Jahweprophetie*, Gött. 1897, p. 62; Kittel, *D. Proph. Jes.*[6], p. 250; Martin Brückner, *Die Komposition d. Buch. Jes.*, *cc.* 28—33, Halle 1898, p. 15; Marti, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 204.

*† *Beitr. z. Jesaiakritik*, p. 53f.

Isaiah's earlier prophecies of the ruin of both kingdoms, made by the prophet himself, is excluded by the un-Isaianic character of the passage. Geiger's view* that buoyant national pride demanded that such severe words of censure as are uttered in Is. 27, 10. 11 (cf. No. 25) and 28, 1—4 should be interrupted by words of comfort and promise, is improbable.

(27) Is. 30, v. 18.

ולכן יחכה יהוה לחננכם
ולכן ירום לרחמכם
כי אלהי משפט יהוה
אשרי כל חוכי לו׃

Therefore JHVH longs to be gracious to you,
Therefore He lifts Himself up to show mercy to you;
For JHVH is a God of justice;
Happy are all who long for Him!

The prophecy to which this forms the conclusion, is directed against an alliance which Hezekiah, king of Judah (726—697), had concluded with Tirhaqa, king of Ethiopia and Egypt (704—664), for the purpose of throwing off the Assyrian yoke.** The preparations for revolt had been made in all secrecy; the negotiations with Egypt had been strictly concealed from Isaiah. But when at last he came to know them, and it was too late to undo what had been done, the indignation of the staunch opponent of the Egyptian policy found utterance in burning words.*** He derides the folly of the king, his counsellors, priests, and prophets, who expect from it any substantial help. The plan, being contrary to the spirit of JHVH, will turn to their shame and confusion. Egypt is a worthless power, loud enough, indeed, with the offer of promises, but slothful in the performance of them: *a people which can avail nothing, but brings but disappointment and disgrace* (vv. 5. 7). But, he continues, these *lying sons* will not hear the direction of JHVH: they are weary of the monotony with which the prophet constantly appeals to Israel's Holy one:

Turn from the way, go aside from the path,
Trouble us no more with Israel's Holy One!

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* *Urschrift*, p. 92.

** Cf. 2 Ki. 18, 21; 19, 9 (= Is. 36, 6); Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.*, 2, p. 232f; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altth.*, 1, § 382; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 614; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, p. 86; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, 1, p. 184; Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Freiburg i. Br., 1899, p. 204. Cf. also Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* 2, 2, pp. 434ff.

*** Cf. on the Assyrian policy of Isaiah as against the national policy of the priests Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, 1, p. 108f.

What will be the result of this political shortsightedness? "This guilty act shall be to you like a bulge caused by a breach in a lofty wall, ready to fall at an instant, to which breaking comes suddenly, full suddenly." Your whole national existence will be endangered. If ye had maintained a dignified neutrality instead of pursuing the crooked diplomacy of a foreign policy, ye would have been delivered; but ye refused and put your trust in the cavalry of Egypt, therefore shall your pursuers be swift! On the day of battle ye shall flee at a war-cry of five, and your few survivors will be found deserted and defenseless (v. 17):

מפני גערת חמשה תנסו עד אם נותרתם
כתרן על ראש ההר וכנס על הגבעה:

Ye shall flee at a war-cry of five, till your remnant is become
Like a pole on the top of a mountain, and like a signal on a hill.

With this ominous threat the prophecy reaches its climax. The passage which v. 18 now introduces with לכן יחכה יהוה לחננכם ולכן ירום לרחמכם כי אלהי משפט יהוה אשרי כל חוכי לו, follows quite abruptly, and does not cohere with vv. 15—17. Exegetes, indeed, have tried to find here the proper close of Isaiah's angry speech, but it can hardly be said with success. Grotius, Guthe, and Kittel* interpret יחכה יהוה לחננכם *JHVH is tardy in being gracious to you,* He will yet wait, before He will show His mercy towards you. ירום לרחמכם is said to mean: He will remain in the distance *lifting Himself up, away from you* (Hendewerk, De Wette, Delitzsch**), or: He remains sublimely indifferent *"hocherhaben und teilnahmslos oben,"* as Dillmann*** expresses it. But since רום is not usual in this sense, Houbigant, Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne, Bredenkamp, Nägelsbach, Guthe† prefer to read ירום, at the same time retaining the ל before the two infinitives. And instead of calling these interpretations artificial, Dillmann accuses the prophet of artificiality as the end of the verse, where אשרי כל חוכי לו in חכה cannot but have its usual sense *to long for,* will not harmonize with his interpretation of the preceding.

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* Grotius, *Annot. ad Esai.*, p. 301; Guthe in Kautzsch's *AT*; Kittel, *D. Proph. Jes.*[6], p. 274.

** Hendewerk, *Des Proph. Jesaja Weissag.*, Königsb. 1838, 1, p. 581; De Wette, *Hl. Schrift*, Heidelb. 1839; Delitzsch, *Jes.*[3], 1879 (4th ed. 1889), p. 330.

*** *Der Proph. Jes.*[5], 1890, in loc.

† Lowth, *Jesajas*, neu übersetzt etc. von J. B. Koppe, Gött. 1779, 3, p. 134; H. Ewald, *Die Proph. d. Alt. Bundes*[1], 1, p. 271 (2d ed. Gött. 1867, 1, p. 346); Cheyne, *The Proph. of Isaiah*[3], in loc.; Bredenkamp, *D. Proph. Jes.*, 1887, in loc.; Nägelsbach in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, in loc.

This verse must be understood, with 𝔗 𝔖,* Jerome (*grandis clementia Dei!* Vall. 4, 409), Koppe, J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Knobel, Reuss, Andreae, Duff, Duhm, Cheyne (in the *Polychrome Bible*), and Marti, as a promise.** The משפט in 18ᵇ is the righteous judgment of JHVH by which He delivers the community from oppressing tyrants, and purifies it of its guilt and uncleanness (cf. Is. 28, 6; 4, 4).***

It seems best to assume an appendix added later, so as not to end the prophecy with the painful picture of v. 17, but with the cheering remembrance of JHVH's grace and mercy to all who put their trust in Him. Compare the anti-ominous appendix Ps. 2, 12ᶜ (No. 5, above, p. 12).

De Wette, Duhm, Cheyne, Brückner, Marti connect the passage with the comforting prophecy vv. 19ff. Notice, however, the difference of tone and rhythm.

(28) Is. 31, v. 5.

The principle seems, likewise, to be followed in v. 5 of c. 31, a similar discourse, belonging to the same period. The prophet again raises his warning voice against those who distrust JHVH and rely upon the help of Egypt, and again his threatening words are followed by an unexpected representation of future protection and deliverance. JHVH, so Isaiah, "the critic and satirist of the moment,"† sarcastically reminds his hearers, is just as *wise* as the politicians of Judah who imagine themselves to be able to deceive Him; but He will easily outwit them and defeat their plans; He will arise against the house of the evil-doers, and against the help of the workers of iniquity (v. 2ᵇ); He will stretch forth His hand, and ruin alike the politicians and the Egyptians whose assistance they invoke. Woe to Jerusalem! Like a lion seizing his prey whom the shepherds are powerless to dismay, so JHVH, at the head of the Assyrian battalions, will advance against Jerusalem without allowing Himself to be deterred by Judeans and Egyptians (v. 4):

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* ولعوزا ؟ حلّى. The expression *to hope, to trust*, used of God, appeared offensive, therefore 𝔖 *because He begins*. Cf. L. Warszawski, *Die Peshitta zu Jes.* (*Kap.* 1—39), Berlin 1897, p. 52.

** Michaelis, *Übers. d. Alt. Test.*, Gött. 1779, 8; Gesenius, *Comment. über d. Jes.*, Leipz. 1821, I, 2, p. 871f.; Knobel, *D. Proph. Jes.* erkl., Leipz. 1843, p. 222; Duff, *Old Test. Theol.*, p. 278. So also Halévy (*Rev. Sémit.*, Avril 1899, p. 123) who, however, objects to יחכה, reading יקום instead.

*** See A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israel. u. Jud. zu d. Fremden*, Freiburg i. B. 1896, p. 187.

† Fr. Nietzsche, *Werke*, 8, Leipzig 1895, p. 245.

כאשר יהגה האריה והכפיר על טרפו
אשר יקרא עליו מלא רעים
מקולם לא יחת ומהמונם לא יענה
כן ירד יהוה צבאות לצבא על הר ציון ועל גבעתה:

As a lion, or as a young lion growls over his prey,
When against him the band of shepherds is summoned,
But at their shouting is not dismayed, and at their noise not daunted,
*So will JHVH come down to fight against Mount Zion and against the hill thereof.**

What will then happen, Isaiah does not say, but every one can picture to himself how the prey will fare under the claws of the growling lion. Suddenly, however, the image changes, and instead of the impetuous lion we read of fluttering birds protecting and shielding their threatened nest (v. 5):

כצפרים עפות כן יגן יהוה צבאות על ירושלם
גנון והציל פסוח והמליט:**

*Like fluttering birds*** *so will JHVH Sabaoth shelter Jerusalem,*
Sheltering and delivering, sparing and rescuing her.

We can think of no reason which could have prompted the prophet thus to mar the effect of his warning sermon by the abrupt addition of this promise. Only in one case could such a procedure be vindicated: if necessity demanded that the crushing severity of the prophecy be abated lest the people, brokenhearted, should be driven to despair. The contemporaries of Isaiah, however, by no means make the impression of being overmuch inclined to contrition. We are, therefore, justified in regarding v. 5 as a later appendix,† due to the desire to avoid concluding with the thought of JHVH's awful revenge.

(29) Is. 37, vv. 30–32 (= 2 Ki. 19, 29—31).

וזה לך האות אכול השנה ספיח ובשנה השנית שחיס ובשנה השלישית זרעו וקצרו ונטעו כרמים ואכלו פריהם: ויספה פלימת בית יהודה הנשארה שרש למטה ועשה פרי למעלה: כי מירושלם תצא שארית ופליטה מהר ציון

* So Hitzig, Delitzsch, Orelli, Cheyne, Brückner. Sam. Bochart (*Hieorozoicon*, rec. Rosenmüller, Lipsiae MDCCXCIV, 2, p. 76), Andreae, G. A. Smith, Duff, Duhm, Guthe, Reuss, Dillmann-Kittel, Halévy (*Rev. Sémit.*, Avr. 1899, p. 129) interpret the verse to mean that JHVH will fight for His city on Mount Zion. This explanation is forbidden by the introductory כי כה אמר יהוה which connects v. 4 with v. 3. To delete it, with Duhm and Kittel, is not admissible, since its insertion could not be accounted for.

** Read, with Stade, *ZAT* 6, 189, the inf. abs. חַצֵּיל and חַמלֵיט instead of the perf. hiph. of מלט.

*** Cf. Matth. 23, 37.

† Cheyne, Brückner, Sörensen, Marti.

קנאת יהוה צבאות תעשה זאת: *And let this be a sign to thee: Ye eat this year that which grows of itself, and the second year that which springs from the roots, and the third year ye will sow and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof. And those of the House of Judah who have escaped and are left shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward; for out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and those who have escaped out of Mount Zion. The zeal of JHVH Sabaoth will perform this.*

The passage forms the sequel to the Song of Derision upon Sennacherib, 37, 22—29. But the abrupt change in the person addressed, and the difference of rhythm make it impossible to connect it with the taunting song. Nor can it be supposed, with Kuenen and Kittel,* that the verses are the transposed continuation of some prophecy of Isaiah to Hezekiah. Both ideas and phraseology are not Isaianic. The high honor here accorded to Jerusalem and *the remnant*, agrees more with the late passages Is. 4, 2 (cf. No. 20); 28, 5. 6 (No. 26); Mic. 2, 12 (No. 56); 4, 7; 5, 6. 7; 7, 18** than with the genuine prophecies of Isaiah. שארית and פליטה are later conceptions and expressions. פליטה occurs again as synonym of שארית in Is. 4, 2; 10, 20; 15, 9^b (post-Exilic). Instead of the expression בית יעקב used by Isaiah, we have here, v. 31, בית יהודה and בית ישראל. Moreover v. 32^b is taken literally from Is. 9, 6 (post-Ex.); v. 32^a is formally related to Is. 2, 3^b (cf. No. 57) while in v. 31 we have a striking parallel to Is. 27, 6 (cf. No. 24).

The conclusion appears, therefore, justified that vv. 30—32 are a later addition. The appendix is possibly due to the desire to make the preceding prophecy suitable for reading in the Synagogue by means of an auspicious close. The song ends with the following lines of evil import:

והי*** להשאות גלים נצים — ערים בצרות:
וישביהן קצרי יד — חתו ובשו
היו עשב שדה וירק דשא — חציר גגות ושפיים†
לפני קמך†† ושבתך — וצאתך ובואך:†††
והתרגזך אלי ושאונך†* — עלה באזני

* Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 1, § 25, 17; Kittel, *D. Proph. Jes.*^{6}, p. 327.

** See Stade, *ZAT*, 1, pp. 165 ff.; 3, 1 ff.; 4, 291 ff.; Wellhausen and Nowack, *Die klein. Proph.*, in loc.

*** So Stade, Dillmann, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. 𝔐 והתי.

† So Klostermann, Cheyne; cf. Is. 41, 18; Jer. 12, 12. 𝔐 ושדמח (2 Ki. 19, 26 ושדפה).

†† 𝔐 לפני קמח; but ל' ק must be drawn to v. 28, קמך and שבתך complementing one another. So Wellhausen in Bleeks's *Einl.*^{4}, p. 257, Duhm, Guthe, Cheyne, Marti.

††† Sense and rhythm seem to require that the *Sôf Pasûq* be placed after בואך, and that the את before החרגזך, and אלי יען החר' (𝔐 v. 29) be omitted.

*† שאונך with 𝔗 ואיתר גושתך (cf. 𝔗 17, 12). Budde, Grätz, Cheyne, Marti. 𝔐 שאננך.

ומתני בשפתיך ושמתי חחי באפך
אשר באת בה: והשבתיך בדרך

Hence thy task: to lay low fenced cities in desolate heaps.*
Their inhabitants, paralyzed all, were dismayed, put to shame, [*hills.*
Like grass, tender grass, they became, like blades on the house tops and
Thou art full in my view, rising up, sitting down, going out, coming in;
Thy raging and uproar against me have come to my ears.
*So I put my ring through thy nose, and between thy lips my bridle**,*
And the way thou art come, by that do I make thee return.

(30) Is. 43, vv. 20b. 21.

The pericope of Is. 43 which ends with vv. 20b. 21 proclaims the fall of Babylon and the consequent deliverance of the Jews from Chaldean bondage, a redemption far surpassing in wonder the Exodus out of Egypt:

עתה תצמח הלוא תדעה הנני עשה חדשה
בישימון נהרות: אף אשים במדבר דרך
תנים ובנות יענה: תכבדני חית השדה

[*perceive it?*
Behold, I accomplish a new thing; already it springs forth. Do ye not
Yea, I will set a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert;
Wild beasts of the field will honor me, the jackals and the ostriches.

It is highly probable that Deutero-Isaiah brought the prophecy to a close with these verses.*** For the first two stichs of the following are an almost literal repetition of v. 19b. We read: כי נתתי במדבר מים נהרות בישימן להשקות עמי בחירי: עם זו יצרתי לי תהלתי יספרו: *For I give waters in the wilderness, streams in the desert, to yield drink to my people, my chosen. The people which I have formed for myself, they will proclaim my praise.* If genuine they would stand in a rather peculiar parallelism to the preceding verse: on the one side the elect people of JHVH singing hymns of praise, on the other the worshipping jackals and ostriches. Note also that עם occurs twice in close succession. Such a parallelism and such a style we can scarcely credit to the "great Unknown." The late use of זו as a relative pronoun is, likewise, very remarkable. With the exception of Is. 42, 24 (זו חטאנו לו, a late insertion) זו occurs as relative pronoun only in the latest poetical literature: Pss. 9, 16; 10, 2; 17, 9; 31, 5; 32, 8; 62, 12;

* Sennacherib's.

** Cf. Eng. Transl. of *Ezekiel* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 133.

*** Cf. Duhm, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 300; Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 257; Märti, *Jes.*, p. 298.

68, 29; 142, 4; 143, 8; Ex. 15, 13 (R). Most likely the verses are an addition on the part of the scribes, to whom it was repugnant to conclude a prophetical lesson with the mention of unclean animals (Lev. 11, 16; Deut. 14, 15).

(31) Is. 45, v. 25.

ביהוה יִצְדְּקוּ* ויתהללו כל זרע ישראל׃

In JHVH will be justified, and in Him will make their boast, all who spring from Israel.

These words appear to be a later addition to the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah on the restoration of Israel by Cyrus and the fall of heathendom, cc. 44, 24—45, 24. They simply repeat the contents of v. 24ª, אך ביהוה יאמר** צדקות ועז׃

Only through JHVH, it will be said, are victories and strength,

and seem intended to form a strong antithesis to the preceding ill-omened v. 24ᵇ which otherwise would have closed the prophecy:

יחדו יאבדו*** ויבשו כל הנחרים בו׃

Together will they perish, and be put to shame, all those who were incensed against him.

(32) Is. 49, v. 26.

In c. 49 of Is., vv. 14ff., JHVH consoles Zion which feels desolate and forsaken, having lost all hope that her children will ever return to their mother. *JHVH has forsaken me!* Zion cries out in her despair. But JHVH replies that He is more faithful to Zion than the mother to the babe at her breast. He will never forget her. Her walls are tattooed on His palms as a perpetual memorial.† Her children, it is true, are now scattered and few in numbers; but they will be gathered and marvellously increased, and their oppressors will be given over to mutual destruction:

והאכלתי את מוניך את בשרם
וכעסיס דמם ישכרון׃

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* So Versions; 𝔐 יִצְדַּקוּ.

** יֵאָמֵר for 𝔐 לִי אמר; Luzzatto, Oort, Ryssel. Cf. also Cheyne's *Isaiah* in *SBOT*, p. 141; Marti, *Jes.*, p. 314. Oort, *Emend.*, p. 103, reads יאמרו.

*** Duhm's emendation; 𝔐 עדיו יבוא; Cheyne, Marti עליו יכלמו.

† On tattooing see W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, pp. 214ff.; Stade, *ZAT*, 14, 250ff.; Eng. Transl. of *Ezekiel*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 113, ll. 31ff.; *ibid.*, Eng. Transl. of *Leviticus*, p. 99, l. 29.

I will cause thy oppressors to eat their own flesh,
With their own blood they shall be drunken as with new wine!

The following verse, וידעו כל בשר
כי אני יהוה מושיעך
וגאלך אביר יעקב:

All flesh shall know
That I, JHVH, am thy deliverer,
That thy redeemer is the hero of Jacob,

consists of three stichs instead of two as is the case with the preceding verses of the chapter, and it occurs again in c. 60, 16 where it perfectly agrees with the context. It has been placed here, it seems, in order that the prophecy might not end with the dire destruction of oppressing tyrants, but rather with the comforting thought of JHVH, the Redeemer and Deliverer.

(33) Is. 51, vv. 15. 16.

ואנכי יהוה אלהיך רגע הים ויהמו גליו יהוה צבאות שמו: ואשם דברי בפיך ובצל ידי כסיתיך לנטות* שמים וליסד ארץ ואמר** לציון עמי אתה:

I am JHVH, thy God, who stirs up the sea that its waves roar, whose Name is JHVH Sabaoth. And I put my words in thy mouth, and with the shadow of my hand I covered thee, to stretch out the heavens, and to found the earth, and I said to Zion: Thou art my people.

These verses appear, likewise, to form a euphemistic appendix. In the prophecy, to which they seem intended to form the conclusion, JHVH exhorts Zion to put her trust in Him, and not to be afraid of *frail man who dies.* He rebukes her for having forgotten JHVH, her Maker, *who stretches out the heavens and spreads out firmly the earth.* With this severe reproof the statement of v. 16[a], that JHVH has put His words into the mouth of Israel, can scarcely be brought into connection. Moreover, we have in v. 16 no less than three quotations: from Is. 59, 21; 49, 2, and Hos. 2, 25. Similarly v. 15, apart from the opening words, stands literally in Jer. 31, 35[b] (post-Ex.). It is true, Giesebrecht*** regards the words there as a quotation from Is. 51, 15; but it is not quite clear that Jer. 31, v. 35[b] is foreign to the context, while the words can hardly be accounted for in our

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* לנטות 𝔖, Houb., Duhm, Grätz, Ryssel, Cheyne, Marti, Oort; 𝔐 לנטע.

** אמר for 𝔐 לאמר.

*** See his Commentary on *Jeremiah*, Gött. 1894, p. 173.

passage, if written so as to follow vv. 12—14. That the verses are an addition to the prophecy of c. 51 has been recognized by Cheyne and Duhm.* Kittel** also admits that this is probable.

What induced a later scribe to append these verses? The suggestion of Cheyne that the verses were inserted to fill out the place of an illegible passage, does not account for their specific contents. Why theses verses and no others? Most likely the appendix owes its origin to the desire to obtain an auspicious conclusion to the prophecy of vv. 12—14. Unfortunately vv. 13c. 14 seem to be hopelessly corrupt. V. 13a b reads:

ותשכח יהוה עשך נוטה שמים ויסד ארץ׃
ותפחד תמיד כל היום מפני חמת המציק

... and forgettest JHVH, thy Maker, who stretches out the heavens, and spreads out firmly the earth?
And tremblest continually all the day for the fury of the oppressor?

It may be supposed that words such as these, followed, very probably, by similar ones, were not felt by the Jews to be of very good omen.

JEREMIAH.

(34) Jer. 3, vv. 14—18.

This passage, a prophecy on the restoration of Israel and the consequent establishment of the ideal Zion toward which the heathen nations flock, interrupts the context. We would, at least, expect the repentance of the people to be mentioned before the announcement of the restoration. The proper continuation of v. 13 is v. 19, for, as Stade*** pointed out, ואנכי in v. 19 requires an antithesis which is found in the thought of v. 13,† while between v. 19 and v. 18 no connection can be traced. Similarly vv. 14ff. have no organic connection with the preceding vv. 12. 13, where Ephraim alone is addressed; vv. 14ff., however, speak of Israel as including Judah and Ephraim. Further, as Kuenen†† observed, these verses can only have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem (586), while the

* Cf. Cheyne, *Intr.*, p. 303; *Isaiah*, in the *Polychrome Bible*, Eng. Transl., p. 90; Heb. Ed. p. 147, l. 47; Duhm, *D. Buch Jes.*, p. 358. See also Marti, *Jes.*, p. 340.

** *D. Proph. Jes.*[6], p. 442.

*** *ZAT*, 4, 152.

† So Giesebrecht, *Jer.*, Göttingen 1894, in loc.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *AT*; Grätz, *Emend.*, 1, p. 40; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 237; 2d ed., p. 248. Stade, followed by Cornill in *The Book of Jeremiah*, in the *Polychrome Bible* (1895), Driver (*Intr.*[6], p. 251), and others, sees the contrast to v. 19 in v. 5; but see Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

†† *Onderz.*, 2, p. 172.

surrounding prophecies refer to the time of Josiah (639—609). V. 14 would contradict v. 16a, where it is stated that the Holy Land will gradually be filled again by the returning Israelites, if v. 14 be understood to imply that Zion was yet inhabited. V. 15 presupposes the downfall of the Davidic dynasty as a *fait accompli*.* Similarly the call of the people for the Ark of JHVH points to the time when the temple was lying in ruins, and the former guarantee of victory was felt to be missing. Even supposing the Ark of JHVH to have been lost at an earlier time, the priests would hardly have informed the people of the calamity. Only after the destruction of the Temple there was no possibility of denying the fact (Giesebrecht).** According to v. 18 both Israel and Judah are languishing in exile.

It seems doubtful whether the passage owes its origin to Jeremiah. VV. 17. 18 have been pronounced not genuine by Stade, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Smend. In v. 17b the phrase אחרי שררות לבם (עוד) ילכו (ולא) ירע, which Jeremiah employs in speaking of the stubbornness of Israel***, is used of the gentiles; but Jeremiah nowhere ascribes stubbornness of heart to the gentiles. Similarly the expression נקוה לשם is not in accordance with the usage of Jeremiah.† Nor does the thought, expressed in v. 17a, that not only the holy of holies, but all Jerusalem would be the throne of JHVH, agree with the mind of the prophet as we know it from his genuine writings. It is a conception current in the post-Exilic era. Cf. Ez. 48, 35; Is. 11, 10; 54; 60, 1; 62, 1f.; Joel 4, 17. The same is true of the conception that the gentiles will assemble to worship at Jerusalem. Cf. Is. 60; 61;†† Mic. 4, 1 (No. 57); Am. 9, 9 (No. 63); Zech. 2, 15; 8, 23; 14, 16ff. The addition of 𝔊 to v. 18 καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν, is perfectly intelligible from the standpoint of a post-Exilic Jew. Compare the following passages in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature: Sir. 33, 13; Baruch 4, 36; 5, 5ff.; 2 Macc. 2, 18; Psalt. of Sol. 11; Enoch 90, 33; the conclusion of the apocalypse of Baruch. But if the

* Theodoret (ed. Migne, 2, 522) believed v. 15, *and I will give you shepherds according to my heart*, to refer to Zerubbabel and Joshua.

** Cf. also J. C. Movers, *Krit. Unters. üb. d. bibl. Chronol.*, 1834, p. 139; see also on the Ark of JHVH, Relandus, *Antiquitates Sacrae*, Ultrajecti, MDCCXII, pp. 46ff.; Seyring, *ZAT*, 11, 114ff.; Couard, *ZAT*, 12, 53ff.; Kosters, *Theol. Tijd.*, 1893, pp. 361ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, Freib. i. B. 1894, p. 367; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.*, Freib. i. B. 1894, 2, pp. 3ff.; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, p. 70f; Krätzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT*, Marburg 1896, p. 216, n.; H. A. Poels, *Examen crit. de l'hist. du sanct. de l'arche*, Leide 1897; Budde, *Expository Times*, 9, 396ff.; *ZAT*, 21, 193ff.

*** Cf. 7, 24; 9, 13; 11, 8; 13, 10; 16, 12; 18, 12; 23, 17.

† Ni. of קוה only here and Gen. 1, 9; see Nestle, *Margin. u. Mater.*, p. 3.

†† Cf. H. Gressmann, *Über die in Jes. c. 55—66 vorausges. Verhältnisse*, Gött. 1898, pp. 16 ff.

authenticity of vv. 17. 18 is admitted to be doubtful, the genuineness of the preceding verses also becomes questionable. V. 16 cannot form the conclusion of a section, the thought is further developed and completed in v. 17. And v. 16^{a} is unintelligible without vv. 14. 15. The appendix appears to be due to the fact that the connection between vv. 13 and 19 was not recognized, v. 13 being regarded, on account of the נאם יהוה, as the conclusion of the prophecy; but to close the reading of the prophecy with JHVH's reproach of disobedience and apostasy was considered ill-omened. V. 13 reads: אך דעי עונך כי ביהוה אלהיך פשעת ותפזרי את דרכיך לזרים תחת כל עץ רענן ובקולי לא שמעת* נאם יהוה: *Only acknowledge thy guilt, that thou hast deserted thy God, JHVH, and hast run after the strangers under every evergreen tree, and hast not obeyed my voice, says JHVH.*

(35) Jer. 4, vv. 1. 2.

For the same reason there appear to have been appended after Jer. 3, 25 (which reads נשכבה בבשתנו ותכסנו כלמתנו כי ליהוה אלהינו חטאנו אנחנו ואבותינו מנעורינו ועד היום הזה ולא שמענו בקול יהוה אלהינו *Let us lie down in our shame, let our disgrace cover us; we have sinned against our God, JHVH, we and our ancestors, from our youth to this day, and have not obeyed the voice of our God, JHVH*) the verses 1. 2 of c. 4, which, as Cornill (*op. s. cit.*) remarks, are both in thought and expression decidedly foreign to the style of Jeremiah: אם תשוב ישראל נאם יהוה אלי תשוב** ואם תסיר שקוציך מפני ולא תנוד: ונשבעת חי יהוה באמת במשפט ובצדקה והתברכו*** בו גוים ובו יתהללו: This is yet more apparent in the form in which 𝔊 represents the verses: *ἐὰν ἐπιστραφῇ Ισραηλ, λέγει Κύριος, πρὸς μὲ ἐπιστραφήσεται, καὶ ἐὰν περιέλῃ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτοῦ ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου μου εὐλαβηθῇ καὶ ὀμόσῃ· ζῇ Κύριος, μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐν κρίσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθνη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ αἰνέσουσι τῷ θεῷ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.* The passage, therefore, can hardly be understood, with Hitzig, Giesebrecht, Ball, and others,† as the

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* שמעת following 𝔊; 𝔐 שמעתם. Cf. *Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 68, l. 3.

** Grotius (*Annot.*, p. 347) renders: *Si ad me reverteris, Israel, reverteris in patriam. "Hunc sensum exigit membrum sequens."* Similarly J. D. Michaelis, *Observationes Phil. et Crit. in Jer. Vaticinia*, ed. Schleussner, Gött. 1793, p. 36, and De Wette. Hitzig, and others translate: *Wenn du umkehrst, Israel, zu mir umkehrst;* Giesebrecht: *Wenn du dich bekehrst, Israel, spricht JHVH, so sollst du zu mir zurückdürfen.* Cf. Orelli, *Jer.*, p. 239.

*** והתברכו, cf. Gen. 22, 18 (R); 26, 4 (R). Ni. Gen. 12, 3 (J); 18, 18 (J); 28, 14 (J). As to the sense, see the commentaries of Delitzsch and Dillmann *ad loca*; Löhr, *Missionsgedanke im AT*, p. 14.

† Hitzig, *D. Proph. Jer.*, Leipz. 1841, p. 31; Giesebrecht, *D. Buch Jer.*, p. 21; Ball, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*, New York 1890, p. 132.

divine answer to Israel's confession of sin. With much more propriety vv. 3. 4 may be considered the immediate continuation of 3, 25. VV. 1. 2 appear to be intended as an anti-ominous close of a prophetic section.

(36) Jer. 4, v. 27; 5, vv. 10b. 18.

In Jer. c. 4, v. 27 we read at the end of a section: כי כה אמר יהוה שממה תהיה כל הארץ וכלה לא אעשה׃ *For thus has JHVH said, The whole land shall be desolate, yet will I not make a full end.*

In the foregoing prophecy the prophet begins by exhorting the men of Judah and Jerusalem to a complete change of heart and mind, lest the judgment of JHVH overtake them like an inextinguishable fire (vv. 3. 4). Soon he sees the scourge of God appearing in the North, and he calls upon them to seek protection behind the walls of the fortified cities (v. 5ff.). Like a dry and vehement storm of the desert that brings but drought and desolation, has been the conduct of the people towards JHVH. Now JHVH has pronounced sentence upon them. Swift as the storm-clouds the devastating hosts of the foe advance against the cities of Judah. Only a speedy repentance can rescue Jerusalem. But alas for the stupidity of the people! Wise enough to do evil, to do good they know not. Like blind men they rush into their destruction (vv. 11ff.). In heart-rending agony the prophet beholds the judgment taking its course. The fertile land becomes a dreary desert. The cities are destroyed. No man, no living being to be seen all around (vv. 21f.). It seems impossible to express the complete destruction of Judah in clearer and more emphatic terms than is done in vv. 21—27a. We are, therefore, very much surprised to read, after the שממה תהיה כל הארץ, the statement וכלה לא אעשה. Our surprise increases when we consider the following verse 28: על זאת תאבל הארץ וקדרו השמים ממעל על כי דברתי ולא נחמתי זמתי ולא אשוב ממנה׃* *For this the earth mourns, and the heaven above is obscured, because I have said it, and will not change my mind, I have decreed it, and will not turn back therefrom.* The description of v. 28a, and the angry tone of v. 28b, are impossible if originally preceded by the announcement of divine mercy; על זאת can only refer to 27a, ignoring 27b. The difficulty appears to have been felt by Grotius, who, in his *Annot. ad Jer.*, p. 348, interprets וכלה לא אעשה *nondum ea poena mihi sufficiet,* and by Leiste,** who translates: *und ich werde kein Ende machen, nämlich der Verwüstung.* This, however, is against the usage of עשה כלה,

* 𝔊 gives the words in their natural sequence: *διότι ἐλάλησα καὶ οὐ μετανοήσω, ὥρμησα καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψω ἀπ' αὐτῆς.* 𝔐 על כי דברתי זמתי ולא נחמתי ולא אשוב ממנה׃

** Quoted by Graf, *D. Proph. Jer.*, Leipzig 1862, p. 83.

which requires the sense of *to exterminate*; cf. Jer. 5, 10. 18; 46, 28; Nah. 1, 8. 9; Zeph. 1, 18; Is. 10, 23; Ez. 11, 13; 20, 17; 30, 11; Neh. 9, 31. The passage is foreign to the context.

The same phrase occurs in vv. 10. 18 of c. 5, where again it does not harmonize with the context in which it stands. In v. 10 JHVH calls upon the appointed ministers of judgment to complete their task, as all, high and low, are utterly corrupt: *Shall I not punish such men, is the oracle of JHVH, shall I not avenge myself on a nation like this?* (v. 9). עלו בשרותיה* ושחתו * * * הסירו נטישותיה כי לא ליהוה המה. *For,* continues v. 11, *very treacherously has the House of Israel, and the House of Judah acted against me.* In such a connection v. 10b, וכלה אל תעשו, besides making the transition from the first half to the second half of the verse very difficult, can only serve to weaken the earnestness of the reproof and its effect.

The same is true of v. 18: וגם בימים ההמה נאם יהוה לא אעשה אתכם כלה, which follows after the dark picture of the cruel invader who will desolate the land, slaying its inhabitants, and is continued by v. 19, a threat of exile against the survivors.

It is objected that the prophet never contemplates the absolute destruction of Judah. Commentators compare Jer. 30, 11; 46, 28; (also Am. 9, 8, post-Ex., see No. 63; Is. 6, 13c, post-Ex., see No. 19; Ez. 20, 17). But these passages, conceived in the spirit of Lev. 26, 44 and Neh. 9, 31 can hardly be authentic. By the side of numerous passages from every period of the prophet's life, where the unmerciful extermination of the people is proclaimed, without distinction between the just and the unjust, the guilty and the innocent, such comforting phrases are unintelligible, if we suppose them to have been written or spoken by the same author. Compare 5, 14. 17; 6, 2. 11; 7, 20; 9, 14. 15; 10, 22; 13, 10. 14; 14, 12; 15, 2. 3. 5. 7f.; 16, 13; 19, 11; 21, 7; 23, 14. 33;** 24, 10; 25, 9 (חרם); 27, 8. 13; 29, 18; 32, 24; 36, 29; 38, 2; 42, 17. 22; 44, 12f. 18—27. The prediction that the wrath of JHVH will annihilate all and every one, and the hope of the preservation of the state cannot exist side by side in the same mind. VV. 4, 27; 5, 10b. 18 must, therefore, be stricken out as not authentic.*** They seem intended to form the anti-ominous conclusions of liturgical sections. Giesebrecht's view that the addition was made to emphasize

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* שָׁרוֹתֶיהָ possibly corrupt. 𝔊 ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχῶνας; 𝔄, ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. Graf: שָׁרוֹת = שׁוּרוֹת; Grätz (*Emend.* 1, p. 41) would read בִּשְׁדֻמוֹתֶיהָ; Gesenius-Buhl, *Wörterbuch*12, 783 (13th ed., 831) proposes שָׁרוּתֶיהָ from שׁוּרָה.

** 23, 33 read, with 𝔊𝔗, אַתֶּם מַשָּׂא instead of 𝔐 את מה משא; *Then shalt thou say unto them: Ye are the burden, and I will cast you off.*

*** So also Grätz, *Emend.* 1, p. 41; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 183; 2d ed., p. 200; Giesebrecht, *D. Buch Jer.* in loc.

that the exile does not annihilate, does not account for the position of the words after 5, 17 before v. 19, while the close of a liturgical section need not necessarily accord with the end of a section according to its natural sense.

(37) Jer. 9, vv. 22. 23.

כה אמר יהוה אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו ואל יתהלל הגבור בגבורתו אל יתהלל עשיר בעשרו: כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע אותי* כי אני יהוה עשה חסד משפט וצדקה בארץ כי באלה חפצתי נאם יהוה:

Thus says JHVH: Let the wise man not glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty man glory in his might, nor the rich man glory in his riches. But in this let him that glories glory, in being prudent and knowing Me, that it is I, JHVH, who exercise lovingkindness, justice, and righteousness on the earth, for in these I delight, says JHVH.

This passage, which now forms the conclusion of the Haftarah on the 9th of Ab, has no connection with the preceding prophecy, and is best regarded as a later appendix.** The context would require either a continuation of the description of the judgment vv. 19—21, or the statement of the means by which the threatened doom could be avoided. The passage, however, contains no allusion whatever to a judgment, but simply sets forth what is truly valuable and praiseworthy: not one's own wisdom and prudence, but the knowledge of JHVH's mercy, righteousness, and justice. Now this thought is undoubtedly in full agreement with the sentiment of Jeremiah, but it may well be doubted whether he would have given expression to it in this general way which reminds us more of the Wisdom-literature and the Psalms (cf. Pss. 33, 16; 49, 7; 52, 3. 9; 63, 11; 105, 3. 4) than of the concrete style of the prophetic utterances of Jeremiah. Cf. e. g. 17, 5—9. The preceding verses 16—21 present to us a terrible picture of the execution of JHVH's judgment by the ravages of death, resembling in this respect the conclusion of the Book of Isaiah. And it is very probable that the same fear which shrunk from concluding Is. 66 with the ominous v. 24, prompted the addition of vv. 22. 23 after v. 21 which closes the prophecy of Jeremiah against Judah, as far as it is now read in the Synagogue on the day of mourning over the destruction of the Temple: נפלה נבלת האדם כדמן על פני השדה וכעמיר מאחרי הקוצר ואין מאסף: *The carcasses of the men will lie as dung upon the field, and the sheaves behind the reaper, which no one gathers.*

* Omitted by 𝔊.

** So also Graf, *D. Proph. Jer.*, in loc.; Kuenen, *Onderz.* 2, p. 181; Ball, *Proph. of Jer.*, p. 203f. (by the prophet himself); Cornill, *Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*; Giesebrecht, *D. Buch Jer.*, in loc.; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *AT.*

(38) Jer. 16, vv. 14. 15.

לכן הנה ימים באים נאם יהוה ולא יאמר עוד חי יהוה אשר העלה את בני ישראל מארץ מצרים: כי אם חי יהוה אשר העלה את בני ישראל מארץ צפון ומכל הארצות אשר הדיחם שמה והשבותים על אדמתם אשר נתתי לאבותם: *Therefore, behold, days are coming, says JHVH, when they will not say any more, As JHVH lives who brought up the Israelites from the land of Egypt, but, As JHVH lives who brought up the Israelites from the land of the North, and from all the lands whither He had driven them. I will bring them again into their land that I gave to their fathers.*

These verses, which are repeated with slight variations in c. 23 vv. 7. 8,* are a later interpolation, and have been recognized as such by Kuenen, Ball, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Grätz, König, Rothstein.** Although found in all the versions they are decidedly foreign to the context (against Graf). Their comforting character is unmistakable,*** while both the verses preceding and following preach JHVH's inexorable judgment on Judah. That the following vv. 16ff. have no reference to the return from the Exile promised in vv. 14. 15 may be seen from vv. 17b. 18: לא נצפן עונם מנגד עיני: ושלמתי† משנה עונם וחטאתם על חללם את ארצי בנבלת שקוציהם ותועבותיהם מלאו את נחלתי: *Their guilt is not hid from mine eyes. Doubly will I repay their guilt and their trespass. For they have defiled My land with the carrion of their idols, with their abominations they filled Mine inheritance.*

Kuenen believes the verses to be a marginal gloss which has crept into the text.†† The contrast, however, in which they stand to the preceding threats rather points to an intentional interpolation. Its purpose seems to be to turn the mind of the reader or hearer from the thought, most repulsive to a pious Jew, contained in v. 13 (והטלתי אתכם מעל הארץ הזאת על הארץ אשר לא ידעתם אתם ואבתיכם ועבדתם שם את אלהים אחרים יומם ולילה אשר לא אתן לכם חנינה: *I will hurl you out of this land into the land unknown to you and to your fathers; that there ye may serve other gods, day and night, since I will grant you no mercy*) to the remembrance of JHVH's delivering

* Cf. below, p. 52, No. 40.

** Kuenen, *Onderz.* 2, p. 189, 19; Ball, *Proph. of Jer.*, p. 339; Cornill, *Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, in loc.; Grätz, *Emend.* 1, p. 50; König, *Einleit. in d. Alt. Test.*, 1893, p. 337; Rothstein in Kautzsch's *AT.*

*** The opposite view is defended by Rosenmüller (*Scholia* 8), Hitzig (*D. Proph. Jer.*, p. 130), and Reuss (*Alt. Test.* p. 284, n. 1).

† ראשונה is omitted by 𝔊, and seems to be a later harmonistic insertion pointing back to v. 14.

†† Cf. also Ball, *l. s. c.*

grace. In this manner a fitting conclusion would be obtained for reading the prophecy in public worship.

(39) Jer. 20, v. 13; 1, v. 10c.

שירו ליהוה הללו את יהוה
כי הציל את נפש אביון מיד מרעים:

Sing ye unto JHVH, praise ye JHVH,
He has rescued the poor man's life from the hands of the evil-doers.

In Jer. 20, vv. 9ff. we have a violent outburst of deep emotion on the part of Jeremiah over his bitter fate of being a prophet. He has not been able to resist the call of JHVH, — and the word of JHVH has brought him nothing but insult, enmity, and persecution. He calls upon Him for revenge upon his foes (v. 12): אראה נקמתך מהם *May I see Thy vengeance on them!* After this cry for vengeance v. 13, which follows, in the tone of the psalms praising JHVH for accomplished deliverance, has no place, and must be eliminated from the context.* A phrase like the one of Graf: *Joyful, and confident of victory, he sees himself already saved, and exultingly praises JHVH, the help of the oppressed,*** cannot establish the authenticity of the verse. For immediately after this *shout of victory* — if, with Graf, Hitzig, Orelli, Giesebrecht, we retain the following vv. 14—18 in their present place — the prophet curses the day of his birth. If, however, vv. 14—18 are placed, with Houbigant and Ewald, followed by Cornill, before vv. 7—13, then v. 12 forms a sufficient conclusion, and no further verse is required.

The appendix appears to have been due to the desire to avoid concluding with the call for the revenge of JHVH who *sees the reins and the heart.*

In this connection it may also be asked whether the words לבנות ולנטוע *to build and to plant* which are wanting in Cod. A, and refer to cc. 30—33 (in their present form, at least, not authentic***), are not a later addition to Jer. 1, 10: ראה הפקדתיך היום הזה על הגוים ועל הממלכות לנתוש ולנתוץ ולהאביד ולהרוס *See, I set thee in charge this day over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to*

* So also Cornill. See his *Critical Notes on Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 63; Grätz, *Emend*, 1, p. 52.

** *D. Proph. Jer.*, p. 282. Similarly Jerome in his *Comment. on Jer.*, ed. Vallarsi, col. 981: *Dominum laudat in spiritu et se de manu pessimorum erutum gloriatur.*

*** Cf. Vatke, *Einl. in d. Alt. Test.*, ed. Preiss, Bonn 1886, p. 636; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* 1, 647; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, pp. 239ff.; 2d ed., pp. 249ff.; Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, pp. 41f., n. 2; but see also Giesebrecht, *Jer.*, pp. 267ff.; Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. u Jud. zu d. Fremden*, p. 114; Mitchell, *JBL*, 20, 1, pp. 70. 75.

*break down, to destroy and to overthrow,** — and due to the feeling which gave rise to the appendix זרע קדש מצבחה of Is. 6, 13c.

(40) Jer. 23, vv. 3—8.

After a series of condemnatory prophecies against the kings who during the time of Jeremiah successively occupied the throne of David, unworthy rulers who neglected and ruined the flock entrusted to their care (cc. 21—23, 2), there follows a prophecy of the final restoration of the dispersed people, vv. 3—4. 7—8, and the picture of the ideal reign of a prince of Jesse's line. The ideas and views expressed in the passage, especially the idea of a Messiah,** are hardly in agreement with the thoughts of Jeremiah*** who nowhere in his genuine prophecies predicts a glorious future to Israel, whose prophecy, on the contrary, is characterized throughout by its gloom. The verses betray a close affinity to Ez. 34, 23ff. which seems to have suggested our passage. Compare also the post-Exilic appendix Jer. 3, 14ff. (No. 34). VV. 5—6 are met with again in c. 33, 14—16 (33, 14—26, wanting in 𝔊 (40), cannot be attributed to Jeremiah's authorship†). The use apparently made of our passage in Zech. 3, 8; 6, 9—12†† only allows the conclusion that the section is older than these verses, but not that it owes its origin to the prophet Jeremiah.††† The historical situation which the verses manifest, is the fall of the Davidic dynasty; cf. הקים צמח; מלך מלך. The dispersion is wide-spread. The שאירית is the exiled and dispersed Israel. The thought contained in יהוה

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* See also on this verse and the call of Jeremiah, 1, vv. 4—10, Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, pp. 3ff.; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* 1, p. 113; Smend, *Alttest. Rel.*², p. 252, n. 2.

** צמח צדיק 𝔗, ואקים לדוד משיחא; Qamchi זה הוא משיחא. Theodoret (ed. Migne, 2, col. 522) thinks of Joshua and Zerubbabel: *ταῦτα τυπικῶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζοροβαβελ καὶ Ιησοῦ τοῦ Ιωσεδεκ ἐκβέβηκεν.* Grotius (*Annot.* in loc.) refers, likewise, to Zerubbabel as the צמח. So also Sellin, *Serubbabel*, pp. 23f., 40f. Graf, and Kuenen (*Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, transl. by A. Milroy, London 1877, p. 206) endeavor to prove that the צמח here refers to a line of kings (to the Davidic dynasty); but compare Zech. 3, 8; 6, 12. Giesebrecht also (*D. Buch Jer.*, pp. 126. 127) rejects this view of *the branch.*

*** See Volz, *D. vorexil. Jahweproph.*, p. 68f.

† See Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 83; Stade, *ZAT*, 3, 15f.; *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 646f.; Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 2, pp. 204f., 207; W. Robertson Smith, *Old. Test. in the Jew. Church*², p. 107, n.; Cornill, *Einl.*, 3d and 4th ed., p. 168 (§ 25, 8); *Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible* in loc.; Grätz, *Emend.*, 1, p. 54; Giesebrecht, *D. Buch Jer.*, p. 183; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 243. n.; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*⁴, p. 137. On the rendering of 𝚹, preserved in 𝔊Mr (margin), see Swete, *Intr.*, pp. 44ff.

†† Cf. on Zech. 6, 9 Haupt in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Nr. 114 (July 1894), p. 110.

††† Both passages may, however, be independent of each other, being alike expressions of the same Messianic hope.

*צדקנו, that the Messianic period will serve as the justification of the people and its religion, has its parallels not in the prophecies of Jeremiah, but in the Psalms.

There are also a number of expressions which are foreign to the style of Jeremiah, but occur in later writings: נָוֶה = pasture; Jer. 49, 19. 20 (post-Ex.); 50, 44 (not auth.**); 33, 12; 10, 25 (post-Ex.): 25, 30 (cf. Schwally, *ZAT* 8, 185); Ez. 25, 5; 34, 14; Is. 35, 7; 65, 10; 2 S. 7, 8; 1 Chr. 17, 7. פרה רבה is a characteristic expression of P: Gen. 1, 22. 28; 8, 17; 9, 1. 7; 17, 20; 28, 3; 35, 11; 47, 27; 48, 4; Ex. 1, 7; Lev. 26, 9; Ez. 36, 11 (stricken out by Cornill); Jer. 3, 14 (cf. above, No. 34) רבו ופרו.*** The eschatalogical formula הנה ימים באים occurs in Jer. 9, 24; 16, 14; 30, 3; 31, 27. 31. 38; 33, 14 — all doubtful passages. צדיק, צדק, and ישע (vv. 5—7) remind us of Deutero-Isaiah where ישע as synonym to צדק occurs four times, and the verb ישע twenty four times. The conclusion seems justified that this section was not written by Jeremiah.†

VV. 7—8 do not seem to be a fitting continuation of vv. 5—6. 𝔊 places them at the end of the chapter, and reads at the conclusion of v. 6: *Ιωσεδεκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, *Ιωσεδεκ* = יהוה צדקנו; *τοῖς προφήταις* = לנבאים at the beginning of v. 9 which consequently followed, in the Hebrew text the translator had before him, immediately after יהוה צדקנו. The words, however, in their position in the Greek version have no connection with the prophecy preceding them, and cannot possibly form the original conclusion of the chapter.††

They appear to owe their place to the desire to avert the curse of vv. 39b. 40 which, otherwise, might smite readers and hearers:

* Hitzig's conjecture (*D. Proph. Jer.*, p. 176) that in the name יהוה צדקנו we have an allusion to Zedekiah, so that the section would have been written by Jeremiah shortly after Zedekiah's election, does not commend itself. Cf. Jer. 24, 8; 21, 7.

** The non-authenticity of Jer. 50—51, 59 has been established, beyond all doubt, by Budde in the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1878, pp. 428—470; 529—562.

*** Cf. Dillmann, *Genesis*[5], pp. 126, 253; Budde, *ZAT* 11 (1891) p. 209; Holzinger, *Einleit. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 347; Driver, *Introd.*[6], p. 131; Strack, *Einleit. in d. Alt. Test.*, 1898, p. 50.

† Vatke (*Einleit.*, p. 636) considers vv. 5—8 a later Messianic insertion; Volz (*l. s. c.*) only vv. 5—6. VV. 3—4, however, are just as un-Jeremian in character as vv. 5—8. The apparent contradiction between the hope for *one* (vv. 5—6) and the hope for *many* (vv. 3—4) must not be pressed. Grätz (*Emend.*, 1, p. 54) doubts the genuineness of the whole section from 22, 27—23, 9. But there seems to be no valid reason for rejecting 22, 27—23, 3 as a later addition to the preceding prophecy.

†† Cornill thinks (*Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*) they originally stood after c. 33, 13. Their place in the Masoretic text after v. 6 may be due to accident (Hitzig). The verses occur again as vv. 14. 15 of c. 16, but here also without connection with their surroundings; see above, No. 38.

ונטשתי אתכם ואת העיר אשר נתתי לכם ולאבתיכם מעל פני*: ונתתי עליכם חרפת עולם וכלמות עולם אשר לא תשכח** *I will hurl you and the city that I gave to you and to your fathers out of my presence. I will bring upon you an everlasting reproach and perpetual disgrace that will not be forgotten.*

Similarly vv. 3—6 form the euphemistic, anti-ominous appendix to the oracle against the rulers of Judah, which closes with the ill-omened הנני פקד עליכם את רע מעלליכם נאם יהוה *I will visit upon you your evil deeds, says JHVH.*

(41) Jer. 27, v. 22b.

In c. 27, vv. 16ff. Jeremiah warns the people not to believe the preaching of the false prophets about the return of the costly vessels of the Temple, carried by Nebuchadnezzar (604—562) to Babylon (cf. 2 Ki. 24, 13). If those are prophets of JHVH then let them pray to JHVH not to allow the yet remaining vessels to be carried off in the same way, for JHVH has threatened that the rest of the vessels left in the city shall, likewise, be deported to Babylon (vv. 19—22), and *there they will be,* the prophecy concludes, *until the day that I visit them, says JHVH; then will I bring them up and restore them to this place* עד יום פקדי אתם נאם יהוה והעליתים והשבתים אל המקום הזה:.

Nothing is more seriously inconsistent with the religious teaching of Jeremiah than the prediction, put into Jeremiah's mouth in v. 22, of the restoration of the spoils of the Temple. No prophet thinks more lightly of the service of the Temple (cf. c. 7). He denies that God gave a law of sacrifice to the people when they left Egypt. They may eat their burnt-offerings as well as the other sacrifices, and God will not condemn them (7, 21. 22). To the *false prophets,* and to the people who followed them, the Temple and the holy vessels were all in all. To Jeremiah they were less than nothing (W. R. Smith).*** Moreover this prediction, as W. Robertson Smith† very aptly said, in the mouth of the prophet is not only false, but also palpably absurd. For though it is true that the pillars, the sea, and the bases were carried to Babylon, they were not, and could

* מעל פני is wanting in 𝔊, but is supported by c. 7, 15, 𝔖𝔗𝔄Σ𝔗.

** אשר לא תשכח appears to be an explanatory gloss on the preceding חרפת עולם וכלמות עולם.

*** Jer. 33, vv. 14—26, where it is predicted that the Levitical priesthood and its sacrifices shall be as perpetual as the succession of day and night, is wanting in 𝔊, and is certainly not authentic. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*4, p. 137, n. f; W. R. *Smith Old Test. in the Jew. Church*2, p. 107; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 243; Giesebrecht, *D. Buch Jer.*, p. 183f.; Cornill, *Critical Notes on Jeremiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 65. See also Kuenen, *Onderz.* 2, § 54, n. 21; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, p. 41.

† *Old Test. in the Jew. Church*2, p. 106.

not have been, brought back. To transport these huge masses entire across the mountains and deserts that separated Judea from Babylon, was plainly impossible; and so, as we are told in c. 52, they were broken up and carried off as old brass, fit only for the smelting pot. Jeremiah and his hearers knew well that they could not reach Babylon in any other form.

The words are wanting in 𝔊 which throughout the prophecy has a simpler, more natural, and more forcible text. It is not to be thought that a later copyist added force to the prophecy by pruning away the prolixities of the original text. Jeremiah is no mean orator and author, and the prolixities are much more in the wearisome style of the later Jewish literature. As Movers* says: *ista copiosa loquacitas vv. 18—22 commentatorem quidem, nequaquam vero vatem decet, de notissimis rebus cum aequalibus disserentem, qui ut ab iis intelligeretur, certe explicare non debuit, quae vasa Nebucadnezar in templo reliquerit, quos captivos secum Babylonem abduxerit, et post hanc explicationem inutilem vv. 19. 20 sane eadem verba v. 21 e vv. 18 et 19 non iterum repetiisset etc.*

Giesebrecht's** objection, that v. 22^{b} cannot be a later addition because the vessels were never returned, is not convincing. The prediction in our text only proves what thoughtlessness the scribes were sometimes capable of. The addition may have arisen from the unwillingness to close the reading of the prophecy with the announcement that the things most sacred to a pious Jew of the post-Exilic period would be delivered into the hands of the gentiles: בבלה יובאו נאם יהוה v. 22.

(42) Jer. 29, vv. 10—15.

A further euphemistic appendix seems to be met with in c. 29, vv. 10—15. The Jeremian origin of these verses seems doubtful, although Schwally*** pronounces them certainly authentic. According to 29, 1 they are part of the contents of the letter which Jeremiah sent to the exiles in Babylonia, deported by Nebuchadnezzar (597).† Jeremiah exhorts them to settle down in their new home (vv. 5—7), and warns them not to give ear to their prophets and to their own dreams of restoration (vv. 8. 9). כי שקר†† הם נבאים לכם בשמי לא

* *De utriusque recensionis vaticiniorum Jeremiae, etc. indole et origine*, Hamburg 1837, p. 29. The text of 𝔊 is preferred also by Hitzig, Kuenen, W. R. Smith, Cornill. The Masoretic text is defended by Graf, König (*Einl.*, p. 338), and Giesebrecht.

** *D. Buch Jer.*, p. 150.

*** *ZAT*, 8, 182.

† Compare Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* 1, p. 681; Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebr.*, 2, p. 329 f.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*, p. 100.

†† Read, with Stade (*ZAT*, 12, 306), שקר instead of 𝔐 בשקר. Cf. 𝔊 ἄδικα.

שלחתים נאם יהוה: *For they* (i. e. your prophets in Babylonia) *prophesy deceit in my name, I have not sent them, says JHVH* (v. 9). At this point there is a sudden transition to a prophecy of return. At the end of seventy years JHVH will fulfill *His kind promise*, and bring the exiles back to Jerusalem. His thoughts towards them are not thoughts of ruin, but of salvation. He will gather them from all the nations and all the places where they have been scattered. They will be His obedient people, and He will be their helpful God.*

It may well be doubted whether Jeremiah could have written these words, after he had just denounced the prophets of restoration as lying prophets. Houbigant in his *Notae Criticae* etc. 2, p. 451f., has already observed that the proper continuation of vv. 8. 9 is not v. 10, but rather vv. 16f. Moreover, the *seventy years for Babel* which, like the forty years of Ez. 29, 11, are usually regarded by critics as a round number,** corresponding in sense to phrases like באחרית הימים (Jer. 30, 24; 48, 47; 49, 39) or אחרי כן (Jer. 46, 26; 49, 6) or המה ימים באים (Jer. 9, 24; 16, 14; 23, 7; 30, 3; 31, 27; 31, 38; 33, 14***) are only intelligible on the basis of c. 25, vv. 11. 12. But vv. 11. 12 of c. 25 are not by the hand of Jeremiah, as has been shown by Schwally;† cf. also 27, 7, a later insertion. Similarly the expression הקמתי את דברי הטוב†† occurs again in the not genuine passage 33, 14ff., and presupposes cc. 30, 10ff.; 31, 16ff. (cf. also Zech. 1, 13) which cannot be attributed to Jeremiah's authorship. With††† אחרית ותקוה referring to the Messianic hope compare ויש תקוה לאחריתך (c. 31, 17; post-Ex.). תקוה *hope* occurs only in Exilic and post-Exilic literature: Ez. 37, 11; Jer. 31, 17; Lam. 3, 29; Hos. 2, 17 (post-Ex., see No. 49); Ruth. 1, 12; Prov. 11, 7. 23; 19, 18; 23, 18; Zech. 9, 12; Job. 5, 16; 6, 8; 7, 6; 8, 13; 11, 18; 14, 7; Ps. 9, 19 etc. As to שוב שבית v. 14 cf. Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, pp. 40, 41. V. 14 presupposes, it seems, more than the first Babylonian captivity.*† The dispersion seems to be wide-spread. It is an essential element of the later Messianic hope that the scattered Jews are to be gathered together and joined to the community in Judea. Cf. Zech. 6, 15; 8, 7; 10, 10; Ps. 68, 7. 19.

These considerations forbid us, it seems, to regard the passage as having been written by Jeremiah. It appears to owe its place to

* See Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 242, n. 1.

** But comp. Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 2, p. 378: *Die 70 Jahre Exil von dem Aufhören des Opferfeuers 586 bis zu dem Wiederanzünden desselben 516.*

*** All doubtful passages.

† *ZAT*, 8, 181. Schwally is followed by Cornill, Grätz, Giesebrecht. Cf. Driver, *Introd.*[6], p. 260.

†† 𝔊 *τοὺς λόγους μου.* 𝔖H has חטוב asterisked, 𝔊Mr has it in the margin.

††† ותקוה om. by 𝔊; *Ἀ Θ καὶ ἐλπίδα.*

*† Cf. Stade, *ZAT*, 12, 307; Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, 39. V. 14b is wanting in 𝔊.

the desire to counteract the depressing consequences which the reading of the prophecy preceding would have on the pious worshipping Jew, leaving him no hope for return to the land of his ancestors.

(43) Jer. 48, v. 47; 49, vv. 6. 39.

At the conclusion of the oracle against the Ammonites, Jer. 49, v. 6, we read: ואחרי כן אשיב את שבות בני עמון נאם יהוה. Similarly v. 39, at the close of the prophecy against Elam: באחרית הימים אשיב את שבית* עילם נאם יהוה.

These verses give rise to the most serious suspicion. Not only do they follow very abruptly, but they contradict statements in the preceding prophecies. V. 6 is against the immediately foregoing v. 5b: הנני מביא עליך פחד נאם אדני יהוה צבאות מכל סביביך ונדחתם איש לפניו ואין מקבץ לנדד *Behold, I bring terror upon thee, says the Lord JHVH Sabaoth, from all about thee; ye shall be driven out every one right forth, and none shall gather the fugitives.* V. 39 stands against v. 37b: והבאתי עליהם רעה את חרון אפי נאם יהוה ושלחתי אחריהם את החרב עד כלתי אותם *I will bring evil upon them, my fierce anger, says JHVH, and will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them.* That the verses are later additions is further supported by 𝔊, where v. 6 is wanting; and the presence of v. 39 in our text is due to the copyists who overlooked the asterisk in Origen's Hexapla, and thus ascribed to the original Septuagint what Theodotion or some other translator had taken from the Masorah.** It is much more probable that the verses were added to the prophecies than to suppose that they were omitted by the translator.***

Likewise v. 47a of c. 48, ושבתי שבות מואב באחרית הימים נאם יהוה, which ends the oracle against Moab, did not originally form part of the preceding prophecy. It is wanting in 𝔊, and is irreconcilable with vv. 43. 44 where the complete annihilation of Moab is proclaimed. Compare also Jer. c. 17, 7—12 where Moabites and Ammonites are threatened with destruction if they do not adopt the religion of Israel. Cf. Is. 25, 10bf.

The reason for adding the verse seems to have been in each instance the same: the unwillingness to close the oracles with the threat of the destructive wrath of JHVH which, they feared, would smite them if not warded off by means of auspicious words.

* So Kethîb. אשיב שבות Qerê. Cf. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, p. 80, No. 153.

** Cf. Erich Costa, *Die Weissagungen des Proph. Jeremias wider die fremden Völker* (Heidelberger Inauguraldissertation), 1895.

*** So Schwally; Costa, Rothstein, Preuschen, and others. The opposite opinion is defended by Hitzig, Kuenen (*Onderz.*, 2, § 56. 9).

EZEKIEL.

(44) Ez. 16, v. 42b.

וסרה קנאתי ממך ושקטתי ולא אכעס עוד *And my wrath shall depart from thee, I will be quiet, and will be no longer angry.*

The passage occurs in all the versions, nevertheless it can hardly be attributed to Ezekiel. Not only does the language give rise to suspicion, but the verse, which can only be understood, with Cornill and Siegfried against Smend, Bertholet, and Krätzschmar,* as a promise of comforting assurance, is out of place, interrupting the context very sensibly.** It directly contradicts v. 42a והנחותי חמתי בך, *I will let my fury rest upon thee!* V. 43 (יען אשר לא זכרת את ימי נעוריך ותרגיזי*** לי בכל אלה וגם אני הא דרכך בראשך† נתתי נאם יהוה†† *Because thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, and hast provoked me with all these things, I also will requite thee for thy deeds, says JHVH*) is unintelligible, if v. 42b preceded it. "Such a promise", says Cornill, "as is given in v. 42b is here premature; it does not really occur until vv. 59ff., and even there it is given with considerable reserve." It has evidently been added because people recoiled from the ominous והנחותי חמתי בך of v. 42a. Compare the euphemistic anti-ominous insertion Jer. 4, 27a; 5, 10a. 17 (No. 36).

(45) Ez. 14, v. 11.

והיו לי לעם ואני אהיה להם לאלהים נאם יהוה: *They shall be my people, and I will be their God, says JHVH.*

The formula occurs again in Ez. 11, 20; 37, 23. 27b (cf. Jer. 24, 7; 31, 33). Here, however, it apparently disturbs the symmetry of the verse. VV. 10. 11a form a sufficient and natural, although not very pleasant, conclusion to the foregoing prophecy, in which Ezekiel specifies the conditions (abandonment of idolatry, and loyalty to JHVH) under which JHVH will permit His prophet to answer the people's inquiries: והנביא כי יפתה ודבר דבר אני יהוה פתיתי את הנביא ההוא ונטיתי את ידי עליו והשמדתי מתוך עמי ישראל: ונשאו עונם כעון הדרש כעון הנביא יהיה: למען לא יתעו עוד בית ישראל מאחרי ולא יטמאו עוד

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* Cornill, *D. Buch d. Proph. Ezech.*, Leipzig 1886, p. 268; Siegfried in Kautzsch's *AT*; Smend, 2d ed. of Hitzig's commentary on *Ezekiel*, 1880; A. Bertholet, *D. Buch Hesekiel*, Freiburg i. B. 1897; Krätzschmar, *Ezechiel*, Göttingen 1900, in loc.

** So also Toy, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* in the *Polychrome Bible*, Eng. Transl., p. 127, l. 50; Heb. Ed., p. 67, l. 36.

*** ותרגיזי 𝔊𝔖𝔗; 𝔐 ותרגזי.

† בראשך with 𝔊; 𝔐 בראש.

†† 𝔐 אדני יהוה; 𝔊 om. אדני. On the name of God in Ezekiel see Cornill, *op. s. cit.*, p. 172.

בכל פשעיהם *When a prophet is deceived and speaks a word, I, JHVH, have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand against him, and destroy him from the midst of my people Israel. And they shall bear their punishment, as the punishment of him who consults, so shall be the punishment of him who prophesies, that the House of Israel may no more go astray from me, nor any longer be defiled with all their transgressions.* It will be observed that the prophecy would thus close with a word of evil import פשע. To avoid, however, such an ill-omened conclusion v. 11c, והיו לי לעם ואני אהיה להם לאלהים, appears to have been added. Cf. Ps. 19, 15; Eccl. 12, 14.

(46) Ez. 21, v. 32b.

עד בוא אשר לו המשפט ונתתיו: *Till he come who has the right to them, and I give them to him.*

In c. 21, vv. 7ff. of Ez. the prophet is commanded to prophesy the word of JHVH against the sanctuary, against Jerusalem, and the whole land of Israel. JHVH will draw His sword to cut off from Israel both the wicked and the righteous (v. 8). In vv. 10—17 the sword is represented as drawn *against all flesh from the Southland to the North.* Nebuchadnezzar has started out against Judah and Ammon to punish them for their rebellion (vv. 18—23). His march will first be directed against Jerusalem. The faithlessness of the unworthy Zedekiah (cf. 2 Ki. 24, 17f.; 25; Jer. 52) will bring upon himself, the city, and the state the terrible wrath of JHVH: עוה עוה עוה אשימנה אוי לה כזאת תהיה:*.

This seems to be the original conclusion of the prophecy against Judah, as may be seen from the parallel prophecy against Ammon which closes with the threat of complete annihilation. What yet follows, quite unexpectedly, עד בוא אשר לו המשפט ונתתיו, referring to the coming of the Messiah,** is out of place after the severe threats of vv. 7—32a. It is formed on the basis of Gen. 49, 10 (J),*** and appears to have been added in order to ward off the evil consequences which the preceding threatenings might bring upon the readers and hearers of the prophecy. The addition which, otherwise, agrees with Ezekiel's view of God's all-working power† may owe its origin to a scribe of the school of Ezekiel.

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* So with 𝔊 *οὐαὶ αὐτῃ τοιαύτη ἔσται* (Cornill). Toy follows 𝔐 גם זאת לא היה.

** According to Grotius this refers to Zerubbabel.

*** Smend, Bertholet, Krätzschmar against Volz (*Jahweproph.*, p. 82, n. 1). Cf. also Hävernick, *Comment. über d. Proph. Ezechiel*, Erlangen 1843, p. 362.

† Cf. Duhm, *D. Theol. d. Proph.*, Bonn 1875, pp. 259f.

(47) Ez. 28, vv. 24—26.

At the close of c. 28 of Ezekiel we read, as the conclusion of the oracle against Sidon, a promise of the future restoration of Israel to the land of their ancestors where they will live in security and prosperity. This prophecy, which Bertholet calls the key to cc. 25—32, seems doubtful as to its having been written by Ezekiel. The position which it occupies between the oracles on the foreign nations is certainly strange, as has been recognized even by Kliefoth.* It is made up of expressions used by Ezekiel: v. 25^a = 20, 41; 25^b = 37, 25; v. 26 = 34, 27; 38, 8; 39, 26 (cf. also Am. 9, 14; Is. 65, 27). VV. 24^c. 26^c (*They shall know that I am JHVH*) occur over fifty times in Ezekiel. Compare in P: Ex. 6, 7; 7, 5; 14, 4. 18; 16, 12; 29, 46; cf. 31, 13^b (H); occasionally elsewhere: Ex. 10, 2; 1 Ki. 20, 13. 28; Is. 49, 23. 26. Yet the tone of the oracle is very different from Ezekiel's genuine prophecies of restoration; cf. 6, 8—10; 11, 17—21; 16, 60—63; 17, 22—24; 20, 39—44; 29, 13; 34 ff. Ezekiel never forgets to remind his co-religionists that it is by JHVH's free grace that they will be restored, and that by their sins and hard-heartedness they have deserved quite a different fate.** *Not for your sake do I act, O House of Israel, but for my sacred Name which ye have made profane among the nations to whom ye are come* (36, 22). I am inclined to regard it as a later addition appended for the purpose of gaining a propitious conclusion to the first half of the oracles on the foreign nations, thus making them suitable to be read for religious purposes. After the second half, cc. 29—32, there follows Ezekiel's prophecy of the advent of the Messianic kingdom.

Minor Prophets.

HOSEA.

(48) Hos. 2, vv. 1—3.

והיה מספר בני ישראל כחול הים אשר לא ימד ולא יספר*** והיה במקום אשר יאמר להם לא עמי אתם יאמר להם בני אל חי: ונקבצו בני יהודה ובני ישראל יחדו† ושמו להם ראש אחד ועלו מן הארץ כי גדול יום יזרעאל אמרו לאחיכם עמי ולאחותיכם רחמה: *The number of the Israelites*

* *D. Buch Ezech.*, 1864, in loc.

** Cf. Smend, *Ezech.* ad 16, 60—63; Cornill, ad 16, 42; Krätzschmar, ad loc.

*** On the use of the imperfect see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*[3], Oxford 1892, § 37β (p. 42).

† Karl Loftman (*Krit. Unders. af den Masoret. Text. till Prof. Hoseas Bok*, Linköping 1894, p. 9) proposes to read לאחד for יחדו.

will be as the sand of the sea which cannot be measured nor numbered; and instead of its being said of them, Ye are not my people, they shall be called Sons of the Living God. And the Judeans and Israelites will be gathered, they will appoint for themselves one head, and come up from the land; for glorious will be the day of Jezreel. Say to your brethren 'my people,' and to your sisters 'beloved.'*

One can hardly imagine a more abrupt transition than that which exists between c. 1 and these verses, a transition from an uncompromising threat to an unconditional promise. After the prophet has declared JHVH's rejection of the people, symbolized by giving his three children born of his faithless wife Gomer the threatening names *Jezreel, Lo-ruḥamah,* and *Lo-ammi,* כי אתם לא עמי ואנכי לא אלהיכם**, there follows a picture of the Messianic age. The Israelites will become innumerable (cf. Jer. 33, 22; Gen. 22, 17, R), and will be called *Sons of the Living God.* The day of Jezreel will be a glorious day, marking the return of united Israel and Judah from the Exile and their entire restoration to JHVH. This abrupt transition and complete difference of content is commented upon in the Talmud (*Pesachim* 87^{b}; cf. also the beginning of *Sifré* on the Parasha *Balak,* Num. 25). J. G. Eichhorn*** judged the passage to be a fragment of an independent larger oracle. Among modern commentators and critics M. Heilprin, Steiner, Cheyne, Kuenen, Duff, Guthe† have assumed that the verses have been transposed from their original place after c. 2, v. 25. Nothing, however, is gained by this conjecture, nor is it explained how the verse came to be transposed. C. 2, vv. 1—3 cannot be a proper continuation of vv. 23—25. They would stand in no formal connection, besides simply repeating what had been said in vv. 23—25: that the people would be called עמי instead of לא עמי. Moreover, whilst in c. 2, vv. 4ff. Israel alone is spoken of, which is conceived in vv. 20f. as already dwelling in the land, Judah is mentioned in 2, 1—3 by the side of Israel, both being described as returning to the land. The different meaning in which הארץ is used in the two passages is also noteworthy.†† In 2, 2 it

* For this rendering of במקום אשר comp. J. Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuchungen,* 1, Berlin 1894, p. 8; König, *Syntax,* §§ 393. 337x.

** So Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.,* 2, p. 94, n. 1; *Emend.,* 2, 12; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*^{3}, p. 99; 𝔊 לא אחריח לכם.

*** *Die hebr. Propheten,* Gött. 1816—1819, 1, p. 75.

† M. Heilprin, *The Hist. Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews,* 1879, 2, p. 125f.; H. Steiner in the 4th ed. of Hitzig's *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten,* 1881, p. 11; Cheyne, *Hosea,* 1884, p. 44f.; Kuenen, *Onderz.,* 2, p. 332; Duff, *Old. Test. Theol.,* p. 105; Guthe in Kautzsch's *AT.* Cf. also Loftman, *Öfvers. och Komment. till Profeten Hoseas Bok,* 1896, pp. 31f.; 60f.

†† Cf. Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.,* p. 215.

refers to the land of captivity, in 2, 25 it is the country of Israel. The verses are intended to be read in their present connection after c 1, v. 9.* V. 1c of c. 2 has arisen from 1, 9a, and the יום יזרעאל of v. 2 is meant to contrast with the יום יזרעאל of 1, 4.

Were the verses written by Hosea himself? This question, it seems, can only be answered in the negative.** Such a sudden change of feeling on the part of the prophet would be, to say the least, very strange; we would expect a demand for repentance as the *conditio sine qua non* of the restitution.*** Besides, vv. 4ff. continue JHVH's threats without any regard whatever to the promises just held out to the people. Furthermore, the contents of the verses point to their having been written by a later hand. The promise of a large increase in numbers, given to the Israelites v. 1, is not what we would expect as coming from the prophet Hosea. It is a characteristic feature of the later eschatalogy; cf. Ez. 36, 37f.; Mic. 2, 12. 13 (No. 56); Zech. 8, 4.† V. 2 refers to both Israelites and Jews as living in exile. For though the phrase †† עלה מן הארץ is rather indefinite, it can hardly mean *sie ziehen herauf aus dem Lande, d. h. über die Grenze Palästina's hinaus* — on account of their great numbers.††† It appears to imply that the people are established outside of Canaan in a foreign land. עלה in such a connection is always used of the return from the Exile to Palestine; cf. Ezr. 2, 1. 59; 7, 6; Neh. 12, 1 etc.*†

* The verses cannot be understood, with Hitzig and others, as forming the introduction of Hosea to the following prophecy. This would be against all analogy. We would have a menacing sermon both begun and concluded by a promise. To connect vv. 1. 2 with the preceding, and v. 3 with the following oracle, breaks the close relation of vv. 2. 3.

** So also Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, Berlin 1877, 4, p. 220; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*[2], 1883, p. 442, n.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* 1, p. 577, n.; Cornill, *ZAT*, 7, 285f.; *Einl.*[2], p. 173; 3d and 4th ed., p. 179 (§ 27); Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 213; Schwally, *ZAT*, 10, 227; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 194; Cheyne in W. R. Smith's *The Prophets*[2], 1895, p. XVIII; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Minor Prophets*, 1, London 1896, p. 213; Volz, *Jahweprophetie*, p. 26; Valeton, *Amos und Hosea*, p. 53; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, p. 35; Wellhausen, *D. kleinen Propheten*[3], p. 99; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 119; Nowack, *D. kleinen Propheten*, Gött. 1897, pp. 15f.; O. Seesemann, *Israel u. Juda bei Amos u. Hosea*, Leipzig 1898, p. 20; W. R. Harper, *AJSL*, Oct. 1900, p. 14f.

*** Cf. Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 2, 382.

† Cf. Paul Haupt, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, July 1894, (No. 114), p. 109a.

†† Klostermann (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, p. 200) proposes to read אלהים אחד = עלימנהארץ(?).

††† So Nowack (*D. Proph. Hosea*, Berlin 1880, p. 15) following Ewald, Hitzig, and others.

*† ℭ ויסקון מן ארעא גלותהון. So also Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Fragmenta quae supersunt*, ed. Migne, col. 131); Qamchi, Rosenmüller, Theiner, Scholz, Briggs, Wellhausen, Nowack (*D. kleinen Proph.*, in loc.). Cf. also Bachmann, *Alttest. Unters.*, p. 8.

Further, the character of the יום יזרעאל in 1, 4 is entirely different from the day of Jezreel in 2, 2. There it is a day of judgment when the guilt of the House of Jehu will be revenged, and the kingdom of Israel will have an ignominious end. Here it is a great and glorious day when both Jews and Israelites will return from the Exile, united under one king,* and JHVH will look upon them with joy and satisfaction. The idea of a political union under one head in the Messianic age is a conception which arose after the time of Hosea; cf. Jer. 3, 18 (No. 34); Ez. 34, 23; 37, 15ff.; Is. 11, 11—14. Hitzig-Steiner refer the event of the day of Jezreel in both passages to the fall of the dynasty of Jehu. But how the increase of the Israelites can be brought into connection with the destruction of the Northern dynasty, it is difficult to see. But if reference is had, both times, to a different event, is it at all probable that the prophet should have changed the import of the phrase after a few sentences into its very opposite, from the meaning of day of misfortune to day of happiness and prosperity? The mentioning of Judah in v. 2, even before Israel, is, likewise, very strange, if coming from a prophet of Northern Israel. This applies also to v. 3 where the Judeans are addressed** who, at the coming of the Messianic age, are to greet the Israelites with עמי and רחמה. There is also to be noted the peculiar phraseology; the imagery of 2, 1 reminds us of Is. 10, 22; 48, 19.

But now this question arises: what prompted the addition of this passage to Hos. 1? So far as I know, no explanation has been offered. It seems to be due to the same feeling which shrunk from concluding Lamentations with the thought of the rejection of the chosen people. For the prophecy concludes: קרא שמו לא עמי כי אתם לא עמי ואנכי לא אלהיכם.

(49) Hos. 2, vv. 16ff.

The prophet has been describing how JHVH will severely chastise Israel which, like Gomer, his faithless wife, has forsaken her husband, JHVH, following her paramours, the local Baalim. The land whose fertility they attribute to the Baalim (vv. 7. 14) shall become a desert. To show that the gifts of the land come from Him, He will withhold them in their season (vv. 5. 11. 14). Of their joyous cult and festivals He will make an end (v. 13). Their vineyards and fig-trees He will devastate, and change their gardens into a wilderness, the

* Cf. Rom. 9, 25; 1 Pet. 2, 10. Grotius (*Annot. ad Oseen*, p. 487) believes that Zerubbahel is here referred to. See also Delitzsch, *Mess. Weissag.*, pp. 90. 91. On the hopes which were set on Zerubbabel as the Messiah see Paul Haupt, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, July 1894, (No. 114), p. 110.

** Cf. Hitzig, *in loc.*; Grätz, *Emend.*, 2, 12.

haunt of wild beasts. To the inhabitants He will show no mercy (v. 6). ופקדתי עליה את ימי הבעלים אשר תקטיר להם ותעד נזמה וחליתה ותלך אחרי מאהביה ואתי שכחה נאם יהוה *I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim, when she used to burn incense to them, and decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and went after her paramours, and forgot me, says JHVH.*

With v. 16 a sudden change of view takes place.* JHVH leads the Israelites into the wilderness; there He encourages them, and promises to bring them into the fertile land of Israel.** They will become obedient to Him*** as in the days when He freed them from the yoke of the Egyptians. *At that time* war will cease on earth, and the Israelites will live in security and ease. JHVH will betroth Himself to Israel in an everlasting covenant. They will be His people, and He will be their God. How these prophecies of safety, welfare, and happiness can properly stand between cc. 1, 2, 1—16, and c. 3, it is difficult to perceive. In c. 3 JHVH speaks in an entirely different tone of the restitution of His faithless wife. Moreover, the verses are not in harmony with the thought, situation, and language of Hosea. They read more like a comforting prophecy toward the close or after the Exile. The Exile is, indeed, presupposed in vv. 16. 25. Compare for the phrase דבר על לב (v. 16) Gen. 34, 3 (P); 50, 21 (E) Judg. 19, 3; 2 S. 9, 8; Is. 40, 2; Ruth 2, 13; 2 Chr. 30, 22; 32, 6.† V. 17. The desolate Valley of Achor as a gate of hope has a striking parallel in Is 65, 10 where we read: *My chosen ones shall possess the land, and my servants shall dwell therein, and Sharon shall become a pasture for flocks, and the Valley of Achor a resting place for herds.* תקוה is a late word; see above, p. 56. The statement that Israel was obedient to JHVH in the days of her youth contradicts Hos. 11, 1 f.†† The sequence of thought that JHVH grants His blessing in order that Israel may become His follower, is not

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* This has already been observed by Cornelius a Lapide. "*Difficile est τὸ propter hoc.*"

** On Wellhausen's interpretation of the vineyards (v. 17) see Nowack, *D. kleinen Proph.*, pp. 21. 22.

*** So 𝔄: *ὑπακούσει* 𝔊 *ταπεινωθήσεται* (so also Bachmann); 𝔗 *canet.* Saadya A.V., De Wette, Simson, Wünsche, Umbreit, Grätz, Darmesteter, and others = *to sing.* ענה = *to answer*: 𝔗, Ewald, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, Keil, Schmoller, Nowack, Briggs, Rychlak. Buhl would emend עלתה (*ZAT*, 5, p. 179), but this is not necessary.

† Cf. G. F. Moore, Commentary on *Judges*, p. 410.

†† Cf. also Jer. 2, 2; 3, 25; 22, 21; 32, 20; Ez. 23, 3. 19; Is. 46, 4, and see Stevens, *Comment. on the Songs of the Return*, p. 162 (note on Ps. 129, 1. 2). H. Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* 1, p. 57) regards v. 17d as a later addition to v. 17c explaining *youth* in the sense of 11, 1, i. e., according to Winckler, incorrectly. 11, 1, he thinks, is not original, being in contradiction to v. 3(?).

that of Hosea, but of the Exilic and post-Exilic time (Volz, Nowack). In cc. 4ff. we have the opposite conclusion: Israel is first to be converted before JHVH will regard her, and in c. 3 the people is brought into its right relation to JHVH by disciplining love. In v. 18 we meet with the late eschatalogical formula והיה ביום ההוא. The name *Baal* is, in accordance with later ideas, regarded as offensive to the religious sentiment; cf. Zech. 13, 2; Ps. 16, 4.* זכר Ni. occurs in later writings only; Jer. 11, 19; Ez. 18, 22. 24; 21, 37; 33, 13 (Corn.) 16; Is. 23, 16 (post-Ex.); Zech. 13, 2; Num. 10, 9 (P); Job 28, 18; Esth. 9, 28; Ps. 109, 14. The diction of vv. 20ff. is profuse and formal, corresponding more to the language of P (cf. Gen. 9, 2) than to the terse style of Hosea. JHVH concludes a treaty in favor of Israel with the wild beasts and other animals (cf. Ez. 14, 21) in which these take upon themselves the obligation to let Israel live in safety (directed against 2, 14); cf. Ez. 34, 25f.; Job 5, 23.** At the same time an end will be made to war. This is the covenant with the nations Zech. 11, 10. Cf. Gen. 9, 2 (P); Lev. 26, 6; Is. 2, 4; 11, 6; 35, 9. V. 20b points back to c. 1, 5, and seems intended as a negation of this threat. The expression שבר קשת is v. 20b occurs also in 1, 5, but in an entirely different meaning. We are reminded of the very late passage Zech. 9, 10: *I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow will be broken; and he will speak peace unto the nations.* השכיב *to let dwell* only here; לבטח with שכן and similar expressions, is a standing phrase of post-Deuteronomic Messianic prophecies: Deut. 33, 12. 28; Lev. 25, 18; Jer. 32, 37; Ez. 39, 6; Is. 47, 8; Zeph. 2, 15; Prov. 1, 33; 3, 23; 10, 9; Ps. 4, 9. Comp. Judg. 18, 7.*** In v. 21 justice, righteousness, goodness, love, faithfulness are spoken of as the purchase-price which JHVH pays at His betrothal to Israel.† To give to this betrothal an everlasting endurance JHVH "grants everything and demands nothing." If this interpretation is the correct one, the verse cannot have been written by Hosea. The thought that JHVH will pour out over Israel such abundant grace far exceeds the purificatory judgment described in c. 3, and corresponds to an entirely different spirit than that possessed by the earlier prophets.

That Hosea cannot be the author of the verse is further shown by its linguistic character: צדק as an attribute of JHVH in the sense

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* Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 261f.; Wellhausen, *Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, Gött. 1871, p. 30f.; Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, 1, Leipzig 1876, p. 108, n.; Driver, *Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 195f.; Abbott, *Essays*, p. 63; G. F. Moore, *Judges*, p. 195; Ginsburg, *Intr.*, p. 400f.

** Cf. also Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT*, Marburg 1896, p. 51.

*** Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judg.*, p. 391.

† Cf. Wellhausen and Nowack, *opp. citt.*, in loc.

of חסד does not occur in the older literature, but later, especially in the Psalms, e. g. Pss. 7, 18; 9, 5. 9; 40, 10; 48, 11; 50, 6; 89, 15; 97, 2 etc.; Jer. 11, 20; Is. 26, 9; 51, 1. 5.* משפט, used in Hos. 5, 11 of human forensic justice, in 5, 1; 6, 5 of JHVH's chastising judgment, is employed by the older prophets mostly of human juridical justice: Am. 5, 7. 24; Mic. 3, 1. 8. 9; Is. 1, 17. 21; 5, 7; 10, 2; 28, 17. 26; in Is. 3, 14 of God's chastising judgment. In Hos. 2, 21 משפט is a gift of JHVH to His people: JHVH will see that justice is done to Israel. This is a late conception.** חסד is used more frequently of man: Gen. 20, 13 (E); 21, 23 (E); 24, 49 (J); 47, 29 (J); Ex. 18, 21 (JE); Jos. 2, 14 (JE); 24, 14 (E); Judg. 1, 24 (J); 8, 35; 1 S. 15, 6; 20, 8. 15; 2 S. 2, 5; 3, 8; 9, 1. 7; 10, 2; 16, 17; 1 Ki. 2, 7; 20, 31. Of God: Gen. 19, 14 (J); 24, 12. 14. 27 (J); 32, 11 (?); Ex. 20, 6; 1 S. 20, 14 (but 𝔊 *καὶ ποιήσεις ἔλεος μετ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν κ. τ. λ.*); 2 S. 2, 6; 9, 3; 15, 20; 1 Ki. 3, 6 (Dt.). The word is not met with in Amos and Isaiah. In Micah we find it 6, 8.*** רחמים, of human love: Am. 1, 11; of God's mercy: 2 S. 24, 14; Jer. 16, 5; Zech. 7, 9; Neh. 9, 19; Pss. 25, 6; 40, 12; 51, 3 etc. אמונה does not occur before Jeremiah (Is. 11, 5 is not Isaianic; 1 S. 26, 23 is a gloss.). Hos. 4, 1 we read אמת. For v. 22 ידעת את יהוה cf. Is. 49, 23. 26; 60, 16; Jer. 9, 23 (see No. 37); Ez. 29, 6; over 70 times in Ez.; Joel 2, 27. VV. 23 ff., introduced by והיה ביום ההוא and referring to the future fertility of the land (cf. Hag. 2, 9; Zech. 1, 17; 2, 8; 3, 10; 8, 4. 11), appear, likewise, intended to annul the menaces of cc. 1; 2, 4—16; comp. 2, 23. 24 with 2, 5. In v. 25 וזרעתיהו לי בארץ presupposes the Exile; זרע here, instead of the usual נטע (e. g. 2 S. 7, 10; Is. 5, 7; 61, 3; Jer. 2, 21; 24, 6; Am. 9, 15), perhaps for the sake of the paronomasia with יזרעאל.† ענה in the sense of *to respond, to grant, to comply with, to consent,* occurs in late passages; cf. Hos. 14, 9 (post-Ex.); Eccl. 10, 19; Ps. 65, 6 (cf. *JBL,* 1900, p. 70).

The conclusion seems justified that Hos. 2, vv. 16—25 is of late origin.†† The prophecy, very probably, owes its place after 2, 15 to the fear lest the piece should end, when read for devotional purposes, with the threat of v. 15: *I will visit upon her the days of the*

* On צדק cf. Diestel, *Jahrb. f. d. Theol.*, 1860, 2, p. 176 ff.; Kautzsch, *Über die Derivate des Stammes* צדק, Tübingen 1880; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*[4], Gött. 1889, p. 420 f.; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 410 f., 2d ed. 388 ff.; Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.*, Leipzig 1895, p. 270 f.; Bennett, *Old Test. Theol.*, London 1896, pp. 103 f.; 173 ff., Wellhausen, *Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 174, ll. 9—23.

** Cf. also on משפט L. W. Batten in the *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1892, pp. 206 ff.

*** On חסד see Winter, *ZAT*, 9, 211 ff. On the etymology of חסד see W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], p. 408. Cf. also Hupfeld *ad* Ps. 4, 4.

† Cf. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, 108.

†† Cf. Volz, *Jahveproph.*, 27; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, ad loc.; W. R. Harper, *AJSL*, Oct. 1900, pp. 11 ff.; Marti in Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. *Hosea.*

Baalim, when she used to burn incense to them, and decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, ran after her paramours, and forgot me.

(50) Hos. 3, v. 5.

אחר ישבו בני ישראל ובקשו את יהוה אלהיהם ואת דויד מלכם ופחדו אל יהוה ואל טובו באחרית הימים: *Afterward the Israelites will turn and seek their God, JHVH, and their king, David, and come trembling to JHVH and to His goodness in the latter days.*

This verse has all the appearance of being a later addition to the parable of Hos. 3. The prophet states in the parable how JHVH, by destroying the state and the institutions of worship, will break off all intercourse, not only between Israel and her paramours, the Baalim, but between Israel and Himself, just as the prophet keeps shut up his faithless wife whom he has bought back out of a shameful and servile condition but with whom he has no conjugal intercourse:* ימים רבים ישבו בני ישראל אין מלך ואין שר ואין זבח ואין מצבה ואין אפוד ותרפים: *Many days the Israelites will abide without king and without prince, without sacrifice and without maççebah, without ephod and teraphim.*** V. 5 disturbs the symmetry of the parable. Besides, in its phraseology it bears marks which have their parallels in younger writings only: פחד occurs in Deut. 28, 66; Jer. 36, 16 (cf. Gen. 42, 28, J); 33, 9. 14; Is. 12, 2 (post-Ex.); 19, 16 (post-Ex.); 44, 8. 11; 60, 5; Mic. 7, 17 (post-Ex.); Prov. 3, 24; Job 3, 25; 23, 15; Pss. 14, 5; 27, 1; 53, 6; 78, 53; 119, 161; טוב, of the goodness of JHVH, is very frequently used in the later literature; cf. e. g. Jer. 31, 14; Pss. 25, 7; 27, 13; 31, 20; 145, 7. Note also the scriptio plena in דויד.*** The phrase באחרית הימים, an expression for the coming of the Messianic age, is not met with in the pre-Exilic literature, but occurs for the first time in Ezekiel's prophecy against Gog, c. 38, 16.† The reference of the phrase in Hos. 3, 5 to the Messianic age, King David being the Messiah, must be acknowledged. So 𝔗 which paraphrases בתר כן יתובון בני ישראל ויתבעון ית פולחנא דיהוה אלההון וישתמעון למשיחא בר דר מלכהון ויתנהון לפולחנא דיהוה וסגי טוביה דייתי להון בסוף יומיא *Afterward the Israelites will return and will seek the service of JHVH; they will prove themselves obedient to the Anointed, the Son of David, their king, and will devote themselves to*

* In v. 3c we must supply לא אבוא after וגם אני אליך; so Ibn Ezra, Qamchi, Wellhausen, Grätz, Oort.

** Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets*[2], p. 411, n. 17.

*** But the *Cod. Babyl. Petropol.* (*Proph. post.*, ed. Strack, Petersburg and Leipzig 1876) has דוד. Cf. *ZAT*, 11, 127 f.

† See W. Staerk, *ZAT*, 11, pp. 247ff.; Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 4, p. 315. On Gog and Magog see now Prof. Haupt in the *Critical Notes on Ezekiel* in *SBOT*, p. 99, l. 25f

*the service of JHVH, and blessing in abundance will be their portion at the end of days.** דויד as the name of the Messiah occurs only since Ezekiel; cf. Ez. 34, 23. 24; 37, 24.**

Duhm, Kuenen, and others,*** rejecting the Messianic interprétation, see here the prophet's announcement of a return of Northern Israel to the Davidic dynasty. This implies that Hosea did not acknowledge the legitimacy of the Northern Kingdom, but recognized that of the South alone, seeing in the secession from the House of David one of the chief sins of Israel. It may, however, well be doubted whether the prophet saw in the revolt against the House of David an apostasy from JHVH. It would seem more probable that he also, with his predecessors who never dreamed of a return of Ephraim to the yoke cast off in the days of the first Jeroboam, saw in the rebellion against the House of David under Rehoboam a renunciation of foreign influences in cult and manners, an act of faithfulness to JHVH and the old religion.† It must not be forgotten, as Volz has remarked, that the prophet was a Northern Israelite of the 8th century to whom the dynasty and the tribe of Judah would naturally appear subordinate.†† Compare also the unfavorable passages on Judah in the prophecies of Hosea.††† There is, indeed, nothing in the historical situation of this time, which seems to justify such a remarkable preference for the Southern Kingdom over against the Northern Kingdom, including even the desire of a return to the Davidic dynasty. Moreover v. 4, which introduces the kingship with the cult as things equally offensive to JHVH,*† makes it highly improbable that the

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* So also most Jewish Commentators, Ibn Ezra, Rashi, Qamchi. The Fathers and mediæval exegetes refer the passage to Christ. Cyril, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Rufinus think of Zerubbabel. The Messianic interpretation is accepted by Theiner (*Kl. Proph.* 1828, p. 21), Briggs, Delitzsch, Staerk, Volz, Nowack, *al.* Cf. on the exegesis of the Fathers, F. Overbeck, *Entst. u. Recht e. hist. Betracht. d. Neutest. Schrift.* Basel, 1871, pp. 7 ff.

** Cf. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, p. 96.

*** Duhm, *Theol. d. Proph.* (1875) pp. 63; 127; Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 2, § 69, n. 9 (p. 336).

† Cf. Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 344; Kent, *Hist. of the Heb. People*, 2, p. 20 f.

†† Valeton (*Amos u. Hosea*, p. 58) points to Amos 9, 11; but see below, No. 63.

††† A number of critics, following Wellhausen (*Proleg.*2, p. 442), regard all passages in Hosea treating of Judah as later Judaistic interpolations. But it seems to me very improbable that a later Judean scribe should have inserted passages as unfavorable to Judah as 5, 5—10; 6, 4. 8. 14, and should have substituted the name יהודה for ישראל in 5, 12—14. Wellhausen has modified his statement in the 3d edition of his *D. kleinen Propheten*, p. 99, note on Hos. 1, 7.

*† This interpretation is justified by the analogy of the parable — the intercourse with the paramours. A different opinion is set forth by Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 580, and Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 167. To strike out, with Cornill (*Einl.*3 p. 180) and Nowack (*D. klein. Proph.*, p. 14), אין מלך ואין שר seems unnecessary.

return to any dynasty, however excellent it might be, was the special desire of the prophet of Hos. 1—3. And how can such a wish be reconciled with the view of regal government which the prophet manifests in cc. 4ff.? There he not only contends against the continuous change of dynasty in the Northern Kingdom: he rejects the human kingship altogether. It is in his eyes an institution antagonistic to God, an encroachment upon the rights of JHVH, just as much as the worship of other gods besides JHVH Himself. Cf. 13, 10ff.*

The conclusion is thus forced upon us that not only מלכם ואת דויד (Stade, Cornill, Wellh., Schwally, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Valeton, Seesemann) but the whole verse is not genuine (Geiger, Staerk, Marti, Volz). It appears to have been added so as not to close the prophecy with JHVH's threat of the entire destruction of the religious institutions of the nation, the threat of isolation from all access to Him: *Many days the Israelites will abide without king and without prince, without sacrifice and without maṣṣebah, without ephod and teraphim* (v. 4). The verse is thus due to the same fear which would not permit Lamentations to close with the original conclusion.

(51) Hos. 5, vv. 15b—6, 3.

עד אשר יאשמו ובקשו פני בצר להם ישחרנני: לכו ונשובה אל יהוה
כי הוא טרף וירפאנו ויך** ויחבשנו: יחיינו מימים ביום השלישי יקמנו ונחיה
לפניו: ונדעה נרדפה לדעת את יהוה כשחרנו כן נמצאהו*** ויבוא כגשם לנו
כמלקוש יורה ארץ:† *Till they acknowledge their offense and seek my face: in their affliction they will seek me earnestly: Come, let us return to JHVH! He who tore us will heal us, and He who wounded us will dress our wound; He will revive us after two days, and on the third day He will raise us up that we may live in His sight. Let us know, let us strive to know JHVH; as soon as we seek Him, we shall find Him; He will come to us as the rain, as the latter rain that waters the earth.*

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* Cf. Cornill, *ZAT*, 7, 285 f.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 580; Wellh., *Comp. d. Hexat.*, p. 237; *Proleg.*[4], p. 423; *Kleine Proph.*, note on 10, 9; Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 1, p. 361 f.; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 194; 2d ed., 208; Cheyne, in the 2d ed. of W. R. Smith's *Proph.*, p. XIX, n.; Moore, *Judg.*, p. 406; Bennett, *Old Test. Theol.*, p. 19; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 27. The opposite view is set forth by Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, 2 (Paris 1899), p. 467, and is defended by Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 167; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 163. But even König (*Einl.*, p. 310) admits that Hosea regarded the first establishment of regal government as an aberration of JHVH's people.

** וַיַּךְ (Wellh.). 𝔐 יך.

*** So Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 208. 𝔐 כשחר נכון מצאו. Cf. Oort, *Emend.*, 137.

† Read, with Perles, *Analect.*, 90, יֹרֶה for 𝔐 יורה. So also Oort, *l. c.*

According to some exegetes* the prophet depicts, with this conversion brought about by dire misery, the superficiality and inconstancy of his countrymen who can only be brought to repentance by fear, and in a light-minded manner put their confidence in JHVH. This interpretation, although necessary to establish a connection with the preceding and following verses, nevertheless misses the sense of the passage. The words are an earnest summons to repentance. This is especially clear from the strong expressions of v. 3, נדעה ונרדפה לדעת את יהוה (cf. Deut. 16, 20; Is. 51, 1; Prov. 21, 21; Ps. 34, 15) where the true earnestness and sincere striving after JHVH cannot be mistaken. V. 2a *He will revive us after two days, and on the third day He will raise us up* manifests, not a spirit of superficiality and light-mindedness, but a firm confidence in JHVH who can do in a short time what the Assyrian (5, 13) will never accomplish. Nor can the explanation of Keil and Giesebrecht,** who see in the appeal the wish of the prophet strenuously endeavoring to bring his people back to the right way, be accepted. The prophet would identify himself with those who have turned from JHVH, which is without analogy in the prophecy. The words לכו ונו׳ are only intelligible if spoken by the contrite Israelites. So the passage was understood by 𝔊 which inserts λέγοντες = לאמר before לכו, and by 𝔗 וימרון איתו ונתוב. The character of the passage constrains us, it seems, to consider it a later addition. Any similar outlook into a better time, standing in a severe threatening speech, would *prima facie* be improbable; here it is especially surprising. In v. 14 we are told that JHVH has torn Israel and Judah in pieces, — He is in terrible earnest. In v. 15a His threat reaches its climax: JHVH recedes from Israel to His place, which can mean nothing else but that He leaves the people to its ruin. How is to be reconciled herewith v. 15b where we hear that JHVH has still hopes that His people will acknowledge their guilt? Is it further intelligible that such an earnest expression of faith and zeal as that in 6, 1—3 should have been introduced by Hosea only to be branded by him as superficial? In the following vv. 4ff. we would expect to read that JHVH has taken cognizance of this earnest change of mind on the part of the people, but instead of it He resumes His menaces leaving the repentance vowed by the people, and the promise given entirely out of consideration. Thus the passage stands in no organic connection with what precedes, nor with what follows it. Moreover, the

* Ewald, Bunsen, de Wette, Wellhausen, Nowack, and others.

** Keil, *D. kleinen Propheten*, Leipzig 1866, in loc.; Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 207; cf. also Seesemann, *Israel u. Juda*, pp. 21, 22.

confession of the people presupposes such a frame of mind on the part of the people as is contradicted by all that the prophet says concerning Israel throughout the book. The thought that Israel returns to JHVH in order to be delivered from its present distress, and to be transported into a time of happiness, is far below the moral standard of Hosea, while it agrees with the view held later (cf. Deut. 4, 30; Lev. 26, 40).* The strong expressions יחיינו and יקמנו in 6, 2 seem to point to a terrible catastrophe, the national downfall.

The linguistic character of the passage, likewise, supports the view that the verses are not genuine. For בצר להם v. 15b cf. Pss. 18, 7; 66, 14; 106, 44; 107, 6. 19. 28; also Deut. 4, 30; Is. 25, 4 (late, see Duhm, *Jes.*, p. 156f.; Marti, *Jes.*, p. 188f.); 2 Chr. 15, 4. Cf. Hupfeld-Nowack *ad* Ps. 18, 7. שחר *to go out and seek in the morning = to seek zealously*, occurs in the Qal only in one passage Prov. 11, 27; in the Pi'el: Prov. 1, 28; 7, 15; 8, 17; 11, 27; 13, 24; Job 7, 21; 8, 5; 24, 5; Pss. 63, 2; 78, 34; Is. 26, 9 (late, see Cheyne in the *Polychrome Bible*). טרף 6, 1 in the sense of *to tear* is found only in two other passages: Job 16, 9; 18, 4. Cf. also with 6, 1 Deut. 32, 39 (R). 6, 2: רדף in the metaphorical sense with ל c. inf. only here; the usual construction is רדף אחרי. רדף ל in Job 19, 28 = *to persecute*. 6, 3: מלקוש Deut. 11, 14; Jer. 3, 3; 5, 24; Zech. 10, 1; Prov. 16, 15. In רפא, טרף, לכו ונשובה we have an accomodation to the style of Hosea (5, 13. 14. 15a).

The passage has been pronounced not genuine by Cheyne in W. R. Smith's *Prophets*2, p. XX; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 170, n.; Volz, *Jahweproph.*, p. 33. Cheyne and Marti regard also 15a and 6, 4 in connection with vv. 15b—6, 3 as not authentic. V. 15a, however, forms a most effective conclusion to the preceding, and v. 4 is more naturally combined with v. 5. To understand, with Luther and others, v. 4a *sensu bono* is forbidden by v. 4b.

What brought about the appendix? Cheyne (*l. c.*) offers two explanations: first, the writer intends a useful lesson to be drawn from it by his own generation, a lesson such as is suggested by vv. 34—38 in the didactic Psalm 78. This explanation is based on an incorrect interpretation which, taking v. 4 in connection with v. 3, supposes that the writer wanted to brand as superficiality Israel's faith and zeal. The other explanation, that the addition was due to a writer who wished to set forth the importance of the imitation of public acts of repentance by the religious authorities, will scarcely find acceptance. It would seem that we have here, also, an illustration of the principle which would not allow that a piece should close,

* See above, p. 64.

especially when read in public, with words of evil omen. V. 14 and v. 15a contain the threat of JHVH to reject Israel: כי אנכי כשחל לאפרים וככפיר לבית יהודה אני אני אטרף ואלך אשא ואין מציל: אלך אשובה אל מקומי. How much the Jews shrunk from such a conclusion is shown in a number of instances. Cf. Mal. 3, 24; Lam. 5, 22; where the last but one verse is repeated; Is. 6, 13c; 27, 12. 13; Jer. 16, 14. 15; Hos. 2, 1—3 etc.

(52) Hos. 10, v. 12.

זרעו לכם לצדקה קצרו לפי חסד נירו לכם ניר לדרוש דעת יהוה* עד יבוא פרי** צדק לכם: *Sow for yourselves righteousness; reap according to love; break up your fallow ground seeking to know JHVH, till the fruit of righteousness be yours.*

This exhortation to strive after righteousness till the fruit of righteousness may fall to their share has no connection with its surroundings. Hosea announces the severe punishment which JHVH will inflict on Israel for the sin it has committed *from the days of Gibeah**** without any reference to the possible conversion of the people. They are, indeed, represented as utterly wicked (v. 15).

The ideas and phraseology of the passage, likewise, give rise to suspicion. נירו ניר occurs again in Jer. 4, 3 *Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns* נירו לכם ניר ואל תזרעו אל קצים. The close affinity between the two passages is evident, and the question arises as to which of the two is the more original. Duff, Bruston, and Nowack† hold that Jeremiah derived the figure from Hosea. This, however, does not seem probable, since in Jer. 4, 3 we have the natural order, first the breaking of the soil, and afterward the sowing of the seed. In Hosea the sowing of the seed precedes the tilling of the ground. צדקה = חסד is found nowhere else in Hosea. In the early prophetic literature (e. g. Am. 5, 7. 24; 6, 12) the word is used in the sense of forensic justice. צדק does not occur in Amos, but in Hos. 2, 21 (post-Ex., cf. above, No. 49) of Gods justice. In Hos. 10, 12, however, both words have evidently the meaning *righteousness of heart, piety;* compare the parallel נירו ניר = *get you a new heart.*

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* לדרוש את דעת יהוה for 𝔐 ועת לדרוש את יהוה following 𝔊. Ruben would read וְעֵתָה֙ הִרְשׁוּ.

** פרי for 𝔐 ויורה, following 𝔊.

*** See Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, p. 580; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.; Moore, *Judges*, p. 405; Bertholet, *Stellung der Isr. u. Jud. zu d. Fremd.*, p. 83; Nowack, *Klein. Proph.*, p. 63; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 73; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, 2d ed., 209.

† Duff, *Old Test. Theol.*, pp. 108. 135; Bruston, *De l'importance du livre de Jérémie dans la critique de l'Ancien Testament*, Montauban 1893, p. 42; Nowack, *D. Proph. Hosea*, in loc.

This signification of צדק and צדקה is the common one in younger writings. V. 12c לדרוש את דעת יהוה reminds us of v. 3 of c. 6; cf. above, No. 51.

The conclusion seems justified that the verse is a later addition.* It is, perhaps, due to the desire to counteract by words of hope the ominous threat of Israel's servitude, v. 11c: יחרוש יהודה ישדד לו יעקב: *Judah must plow, Jacob must harrow.* The verse may have been intended to form the close of a prophetical lesson.

(53) Hos. 11, vv. 8—11.

איך אתנך אפרים אמגנך ישראל איך אתנך כאדמה אשימך כצבאים נהפך
עלי לבי יחד נכמרו רחמי**: לא אעשה חרון אפי לא אשוב לשחת אפרים כי
אל אנכי ולא איש בקרבך קדוש: ולא אבוא לבער אחריך אלך כאריה אשאג***
ויחרדו בני מים† יחרדו כצפור ממצרים וכיונה מארץ אשור והושבתים על
בתיהם נאם יהוה: *How can I give thee up, Ephraim, expose thee, Israel? How can I give thee up as Admah, make thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me, all my compassion is kindled. I will not execute my fierce anger, I will not again destroy Israel, for I am God, and not man, a Holy one in the midst of thee; I will not come to consume. After thee I will go, and roar like a lion. Then my children will hasten from ....., like birds they will hasten from Egypt, like doves from the land of Assyria. Then I will establish them in their houses, says JHVH.*

R. Smend†† has pronounced this passage as very suspicious, and vv. 10. 11 as undoubtedly not genuine. Wellhausen thinks that the verses *stehen etwas verfrüht an dieser Stelle,* while others (e. g. Hitzig-Steiner, Marti) interpret them as an announcement of severe punishment. But, as the verses stand, they are rather to be understood with ΣΘ, Cyril, Qamchi, Theiner, Ewald, Wünsche, Duff, Scholz, Cornill, Loftman, Nowack, as a declaration of the love and mercy of JHVH toward Israel. נכמרו רחמים, in the two other passages where it occurs, Gen. 43, 30 (J); 1 K. 3, 26, is used of overflowing love,††† and איך in v. 8 is, therefore, more naturally taken as introducing a negative clause; cf. Gen. 39, 9 (J); 44, 8. 34 (J); Josh. 9, 7 (JE); Is. 20, 6, and often.*†

* So also Paul Ruben, *Crit. Rem.*, p. 19.

** רחמי ΣΘ, Wellh., Grätz, Ruben. 𝔐 נחומי.

*** לבער Steiner, Oort, Cheyne, Briggs, Valeton. 𝔐 בְּעִיר. אחריך for 𝔐 אחרי יהוה; אלך אשאג foll. 𝔊; 𝔐 ילכו ישאג. כי הוא ישאג is a repetition of באריה ישאג, and was not read by Lucian (Schuurmans, Stekhoven, Ruben).

† 𝔐 בנים, 𝔊 בָּנַי, Ruben בני; 𝔐 מָיָּם, 𝔊 מַיִם, 𝔖 מעמים. See also Loftman, *Krit. Unders. of d. Masor. Text. till Prof. Hos. Bok*, p. 43. Oort, *Emend.*, 139, reads בניך.

†† *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 201, n.

††† Cf. also Delitzsch, *Heb. Language*, 1883, p. 41 f.

*† So also Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 78.

To interpret לא in v. 9a (לא אעשה חרון אפי וגו׳) in the sense of הלא seems impossible after v. 8c. This is further borne out by v. 9b: כי אל אנכי ולא איש, i. e. I will not allow myself to be carried away, like man, by mine anger.

If this be the correct interpretation, how can the prophet continue his usual threats of ruin and destruction when he himself has prophesied such a change in JHVH's mind and relation to Israel? To suppose that the words were not uttered in this connection, but placed here when he put his oracles in writing (Wildeboer, G. A. Smith), increases the difficulty instead of removing it. In the preceding prophecies the prophet always closed his review with the severest words, 9, 7. 15; 10, 6f. 13f. Is it likely that here at once he should have added a prophecy of restoration? Moreover, as Smend observes, v. 10f. presupposes the dispersion of the people as a fact of history; comp. the closely parallel passages Is. 27, 13 (very late); Jer. 23, 8 (post-Ex.); 32, 37 (post-Ex.). Words like *I will not again destroy Ephraim* (v. 9) are more intelligible in the mouth of a man who looks back on catastrophes that have befallen the nation in the past, than if uttered by Hosea as a prediction of future events. The simile of the dove as the symbol of fleetness (v. 11a) is especially favored in later writings (cf. Is. 60, 8; Ps. 55, 7), while Hosea employs it (7, 11) as the metaphor for simplicity and want of wit. With 11b compare Jer. 32, 37. נאם יהוה occurs nowhere else in Hos. 4ff. The prolixity of the passage is not in accord with the terse style of Hosea.

The passage thus appears to be a later addition to the preceding prophecy.* It was probably appended in order that the prophecy might not end with the ominous v. 7 where JHVH gives the reason that led Him to inflict on Israel the severe punishment spoken of in the foregoing verses: complete devastation of the land, and subjugation under the king of Assyria. He accuses the people of a positive propensity to idolatry so that all admonitions to return to Him are in vain.

(54) Hos. 12, vv. 4—7; 13, 14.

בבטן עקב את אחיו ובאונו שרה את אלהים: וישר אל מלאך ויכל בכה ויתחנן לו בית אל ימצאנו ושם ידבר עמו**: ויהוה אלהי הצבאות יהוה זכרו: ואתה באלהיך תשוב חסד ומשפט שמר וקוה אל אלהיך תמיד:

* The genuineness of the passage is doubted by Smend, *l. c.* (8b—11), Volz (9b genuine), Nowack (9b. 10a genuine; but 9b. 10a can scarcely be separated from their surroundings).

** עמו for 𝔐 עמנו; 𝔊 (cod. A) ἈΣΘΣ; Houbig., Wellh., Valeton, Loftman, Nowack.

In the womb of his mother he outwitted his brother, and as a strong man he wrestled with God; he wrestled with a theophany and prevailed; he wept and supplicated for favor. At Bethel He found him, and there He spoke with him; JHVH, the God of hosts, JHVH is His name. By the help of God thou wilt return, so keep righteousness and justice, and hope on thy God continually.

The prophecy in which this passage occurs denounces the foreign policy of Israel. In seeking the alliance with Assyria and Egypt, Israel has broken faith with JHVH. Therefore He will come with His judgment requiting them for their deeds. Of this vv. 4—7 seem not to be the proper continuation. To connect it with the preceding, exegetes* hold that the verses are to be understood *sensu malo*. The prophet mentions as a characteristic trait of their ancestor, Jacob, his cunning craft and violence to show that Israel's character has been the same from the very beginning of the nation. But this interpretation is forbidden by v. 5^b. The prophet cannot have meant to represent as gained by shrewd violence the blessing which Jacob obtained by weeping and supplication. Elsewhere the patriarchs are looked upon as exemplary characters, and nowhere is there connected with the name *Israel* a derogatory sense. The passage rather seems to contain a very favorable judgment of Jacob. When yet in his mother's womb his zeal to seize upon the divine promises manifested itself. Through zeal and exertion he gained his privileged position, energetically contending for the blessing of God. And what is true of the ancestor, it is implied, is true also of his descendants.** *By the help of God thou wilt return, so keep righteousness and justice and hope on thy God continually.* The passage thus concludes with a promise. G. Beer*** endeavors to establish the following connection between the preceding verses and vv. 4ff.: Jacob is represented as an example to the people; he, too, had gone astray (בבטן עקב את אחיו), but in distress he returned to God (באונו שרה את אל) who promised to accept him into His favor.† But it can hardly be admitted that v. 4^b is intended to form an antithesis to v. 4^a. It appears more natural to understand both members of the verse in the same sense, as setting forth Jacob's zeal for JHVH manifested even before his birth.

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* Dathe, Stuck, Theiner, Umbreit, Hitzig, Studer, Klostermann, Duhm, Smend, and others. Wellhausen, Volz, Nowack separate 4^a from 4^b interpreting 4^a *sensu malo*, 4^bf. *sensu bono*.

** So also Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 79.

*** *ZAT*, 13, 281ff.

† Compare also the interpretation of Klostermann, *D. Pentateuch*, p. 26, and of R. Hollmann, *D. Erzväter bei d. Propheten*, Jurjew (Dorpat) 1897, p. 25.

Now it is difficult to see what this historical reminiscence, with its praise of Jacob and implicitly of the nation, has to do with the aim of the prophecy. But to make an excursus into the past which has no connection with his preaching is scarcely in agreement with the prophet's mind.* Moreover, v. 8 continues the accusations and threats of JHVH without any regard to vv. 4—7. The evidence from style and language supports these doubts as to the authenticity of the passage. The remarkable change of subject and object in v. 5 can hardly be attributed to Hosea. In v. 5[a] the subject is Jacob, and the theophany is the object; in v. 5[b], on the contrary, the theophany is the subject, and Jacob is the object. V. 6 is very suspicious. For זכר = שם cf. Ex. 3, 15 (R); Pss. 30, 5; 97, 12; 102, 13; Job 18, 17; Prov. 10, 7 (see *SBOT* ad loc.). Wellhausen, Volz, and Nowack** consider the verse a gloss, while Oort, and Valeton,*** cancelling ו in the beginning of v. 6, regard it as the subject to ידבר. V. 7 is made up of phrases current in the Exilic and post-Exilic literature, v. 7[b] being closely allied to the Psalms; cf. Pss. 27, 14; 37, 34; 130, 5.

The verses can, however, hardly be considered, with Volz, as a mere archæological note added by a scholarly reader to give proof of his learning. Nor is the explanation offered by Nowack, that vv. 4[b]—7 are directed against 4[a], plausible. It presupposes that v. 4[a] is to be understood *sensu malo*.† It is more probable that the appendix was prompted by liturgical considerations. It is to be noticed that the foregoing v. 3 announces in clear and emphatic words the judgment of JHVH on Judah and Israel: — וריב ליהוה עם יהודה†† ולפקד††† על יעקב כדרכיו כמעלליו ישיב לו: *JHVH has a controversy with Judah, and He will punish Jacob according to his ways, He will requite him according to his deeds.* To conclude the reading of the prophecy in the synagogue with such a threat of JHVH's revenge, would be too ill-omened, and vv. 4—7 were most likely added to counteract the evil consequences which, it was feared, would otherwise smite the hearers.

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* Cf. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit*, Gött. 1895, p. 160.

** Wellh, *Kl.Proph.*, in loc.; Volz, *Jahweproph.*, p. 35; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, p. 73.

*** Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1890, p. 500; *Emend.* p. 139; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 78.

† Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.*, 1, p. 59, n.) remarks: *Hos.* 12, 4—6 *hat ein frommer Bearbeiter sein Verständnis dessen was Hosea unter den Thaten Jacob's (parallel mit Israel!) die JHVH bestrafen werde, verstanden habe, durch einen Einschub erklärt* (4[b]); *ein Anderer hat dann noch die milde Abschwächung hinzugesetzt* (5—6). This explanation, likewise, rests on a false exegesis. How v. 7 can be the proper continuation of v. 4[a], it is difficult to see.

†† Valeton, and others read ישראל for 𝔐 יהודה.

††† For this ולפקד cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs, in *SBOT*, p. 52, l. 11.

For the same purpose vv. 13. 14 appear to have been inserted after the curse against idolatrous Israel contained in v. 12. The verses, similar in character to vv. 4—7, are out of place in their surroundings.

Amos.

(55) Am. 4, v. 13; 5, v. 8; 9, vv. 5. 6.

In c. 4 Amos begins by denouncing the cruel and frivolous women (vv. 1—3), and then asks the Israelites ironically whether their punctiliously performed ritual will save them. The more zealous they are in sacrificing, the more they displease JHVH. Five times JHVH has warned them, but the warning has passed unheeded. Therefore He will now proceed to the execution of the final judgment. This we expect to be the necessary conclusion; cf. 2, 13f.; 3, 11f. etc. We read the introductory formula, לכן כה אעשה לך ישראל *therefore thus will I do to thee, O Israel,* but instead of the real announcement of extermination there follows a lyrical passage celebrating JHVH as the Lord of the Universe. According to Georg Hoffmann* the verse refers to vv. 4. 5, being meant to be an exhortation to serve the real God, JHVH, and not the idols, as He is the sole Creator of the Universe. But the prophet, it seems, does not mention Beth-el, Gilgal, Beersheba as sanctuaries of the idols, but as the splendid places of JHVH-worship. The verse cannot, therefore, be understood as implying a contrast between the idols and JHVH.

We find similar doxologies in c. 5, vv. 8. 9, and c. 9, vv. 5. 6 where also they are foreign to the context.

Duhm has recognized that the three passages are the work of the same writer, and must be regarded as later additions.** Such doxologies, which Wellhausen*** compares to the lyrical *intermezzi,* celebrating JHVH as the Lord of the Universe, that characterize Is. 40—66, become numerous only in the time after Deutero-Isaiah; cf. e. g. Zech. 12, 1; Job 25, 3; Pss. 18, 10; 46, 7; 104, 3. 12.† JHVH's

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* *ZAT*, 3, 103.

** Duhm, *Theol. d. Proph.*, p. 119, n. Duhm is followed by Wellhausen, *Proleg.*[4], pp. 310. 395; Oort, *Theol. Tijd.*, 14, pp. 116ff.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 571, n.; Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 190f.; Cornill, *Einl.*[3], p. 183; Cheyne in W. R. Smith's *Proph.*[2], pp. XVI, 397; *Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 362; Gunkel, *Schöpf.* p. 156, n. 2; G. A. Smith, *Minor Prophets*, 1, p. 201f.; Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Relig.*, p. 119; Wellh., *Klein. Proph.*, in loc.; Nowack, *Klein. Proph.*, p. 136f.; M. Vernes, quoted by A. B. Vienney, *Amos de Tekoa*, Montauban 1899, p. 46; Elhorst, *Amos*, in loc.; Löhr, *Unters. z. Buch Amos*, 1901, pp. 1, 22, 34f. Contrast Burkitt, *Expositor*, Apr. 1900, 308ff.; June 1900, 460.

*** *Proleg.*[2], pp. 319, 403; cf. also Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 99, n. 2.

† Cf. Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, pp. 454f., 465f. 2d ed. 348ff.; Stade, *Akad. Red. u. Abh.*, 279f.

all-creating power acquires a sudden prominence when the realm of Israel falls to pieces; compare the numerous instances in the Book of Job. Kuenen* points to Mic. 1, 2—4; Jer. 5, 20f.; 31, 35f.; 32, 17f. as parallels of such descriptions in earlier writings. Of these, however, the passages from Jeremiah are late,** while Mic. 1, 2—4 is of an entirely different kind, and cannot be compared with Am. 4, 13; 5, 8. 9; 9, 5. 6. Mic. 1, 2—4 describes the approaching manifestation of JHVH for judgment.

The non-authenticity of the passages is further proved by their linguistic character: ברא in 4, 13 is a characteristic expression of P; it occurs also, it is true, in J, but in passages which, with good reason, may be ascribed to an editor, viz. Gen. 6, 7; Ex. 34, 10; Num. 16, 30; also Deut. 4, 32; Is. 4, 5; Jer. 31, 22 (late).*** As to †צלמות 5, 8, the earliest passages with this word are Jer. 2, 6; 13, 16; cf. Is. 9, 1b. In c. 9, 5 we read ואדני יהוה הצבאות. Amos writes יהוה אלהי צבאות; cf. 5, 27; 6, 8. 14. Am. 3, 13b is a later addition.††

Now the question arises, What prompted the insertion of these doxologies into the prophecies of Amos? In each case the appeal to the Lordship of JHVH comes in to relieve the strain of intense feeling at a critical point in the argument. In c. 5 we read the verses after JHVH's menace that, if Israel will not turn to Him, *He will fall upon the House of Joseph like fire and devour it; there will be none to quench it.* In the 9th chapter the doxology follows after the prophet has emphasized the hopelessness of every effort to escape the swift impending doom: *If they go into captivity before their enemies, I shall command the sword to slay them there; I will set mine eyes upon them for evil and not for good.* It thus becomes very probable that these doxologies were appended lest the reading of the prophecies close with these terrible curses.

MICAH.

(56) Mic. 2, vv. 12. 13.

The principle of euphemism appears also to be followed in c. 2 of Micah, which closes with the following verses: אסף אאסף יעקב כלך קבץ אקבץ שארית ישראל יחד אשימנו כצאן בצרה כעדר בתוך הדבר ותהימנה†††

* *Onderz.*, 2, § 71. 6 (p. 362).

** Cf. Giesebrecht's and Duhm's commentaries and Cornill in *SBOT*, p. 47.

*** Cf. Wellhausen, *Proleg.*4, pp. 310, 395; Giesebrecht, *ZAT*, 1, 247; Dillmann on Gen. 1, 1; Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.*, pp. 46, 252; Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexat.*, p. 341.

† On צלמות = *shadow of death*, see Nöldeke, *ZAT*, 17, pp. 183ff.

†† Cf. Löhr, *Unters. zum Buche Amos*, 1901, pp. 12, 18, 20, 58.

††† So Guthe, Oort. 𝔐 הדברו is unintelligible.

מאדם: עלה הפרץ לפניהם פרצו ויעברו שער ויצאו בו ויעבר מלכם לפניהם וידוה בראשם: *I will surely assemble all of thee, O Jacob, I will surely gather the remnant of Israel. I will put them together as a sheep into a fold, as a flock on the pasture, and they shall become a roaring multitude of men. The 'breaker' marches up before them; they break forth, and pass out through the gate; their king passes before them, and JHVH is at the head of them.*

This promise of restoration stands in no logical connection with the preceding or following prophecy in which but one tone prevails, that of reproof and denunciation. Ibn Ezra, Grotius, J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, and Kleinert felt the difficulty, and in their effort to establish a connection supposed the verses to have been put into the mouth of a demagogical pseudo-prophet, as illustration of a deceptive promise of security. But an example of a speech of a pseudo-prophet is given in v. 11[a] ילשכר לך ליין אטפה, and after 11[b] no continuation is expected. Moreover, as C. P. Caspari* observed, the verses presuppose disaster which, as may be seen from c. 3, v. 11, was never admitted by the 'false prophets.' So much, however, is correct that Micah cannot speak in such a manner as is spoken in vv. 12. 13 (against Theiner and Hitzig). The defenders of the genuineness, Reuss, Keil, Bruston, and others, point to Hos. 1, 7; 2, 1—3; Is. 11, 11 f. as similar abrupt transitions. But as these passages are later additions,** analogy points in a different direction: these verses likewise must be attributed to a later hand.*** The Exile and the Dispersion are presupposed. All Jacob-Israel is scattered, and must first be gathered together. In plastic description the Return of the Exiles who have become a thronging multitude is depicted. The dispersed people are gathered into one fold. The *breaker* advancing before them forces the gates of their prison, and triumphantly the people march through the open way with JHVH as king at the head.† The whole conception is that of Exilic and post-Exilic prophecy. As parallels may be cited Jer. 23, 3; 29, 14; 31, 8; Deut. 30, 3 ff; Ez. 11, 17. 20; Is. 40, 11; 43, 5; 52, 12; 54, 7; 56, 8; Zech. 10, 8. 10; Ps. 107, 3. Especially to be noted is the close literary affinity with Ez. 34, 13. 14;

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* *Über Micha den Morasthiten und seine proph. Schrift*, 1851—1852, p. 123. Cf. also Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 200.

** Cf. Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 15; above, No. 48; Cheyne, Eng. Transl. of *Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 150 f.

*** So Stade, *ZAT*, 1, 162 f.; Nowack, *ZAT*, 4, p. 277; Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, pp. 42, 217 f.; Kuenen, *Onderz.* 2, § 74, 4 (p. 375); Cornill, *Einl.*[2], § 28, 2 (p. 183), 4th ed., p. 188; Cheyne in W. R. Smith, *Proph.*[2], p. XXIII; Wellhausen, *Klein. Proph.*, in loc., Nowack, *Klein. Proph.*, p. 200.

† Cf. Wellh., *Kl. Proph.*, p. 140, Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, *l. s. c.*; Toy, *JBL*, 18, 156 ff.

36, 10. 24; 37, 21; 38, 8. 12; 39, 27. The use of the phrase *the remnant* for the exiles of Judah and Israel has been sufficiently shown by Giesebrecht* to be a sure sign of the late origin of a passage. The idea that this 'remnant' has become a thronging multitude agrees with the euphemistic appendix Hos. 2, 1f. (cf. above, No. 48). The thought that JHVH heads the victorious return of His people has its parallel in Is. 40, 10f.; 52, 12; and the indefinite הפרץ has an exact analogy in the just as indefinite הגאל of Is. 59, 20.

Steiner, Ryssel, König, Driver,** hold the passage to be genuine, dislocated, however, from its original context. But, as Giesebrecht remarked, if the want of connection be once admitted, it is far more probable that a passage is not genuine than that it has been inserted in a wrong place — unless the original place can plausibly be pointed out. The passages to which Driver refers as proof for the genuineness, Am. 9, 8. 9; Hos. 2, 1—3; 11, 10. 11; Mic. 4, 6f. hardly support his view in as much as they are, most probably, later additions to the respective prophecies;*** and the scattering or exile implied in Mic. 1, 16; 2, 45; 3, 12 is represented as being in the future while here it has long since come to pass.

Now the abrupt character of this passage makes it improbable that it originally had an independent existence. Like Hos. 2, 1—3 it was most likely added in the place in which we find it for the purpose of gaining a more propitious conclusion. It may easily be imagined that to end the reading of the prophecy with v. 11, *If a man dealing in wind and falsehood would lie, I will prophesy to thee of wine and of strong drink, he would be the prophet of this people,* was felt to be inauspicious. It is also possible, as Kuenen† suggested, that the original conclusion, in which the prophet denounced the stupidity of the people, was supplanted by this auspicious prophecy of restoration.

(57) Mic. 4, vv. 1—5 (Is. 2, 2—4); 6, 9.

This prophecy, picturing Zion as the spiritual metropolis of the entire earth to which pilgrims flock from far and wide to learn the ways of JHVH, follows very abruptly after the preceding prophecy against the heartless leaders of Israel, closing with the startling

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* *Beitr. z. Jes.*, pp. 37 ff.

** Hitzig-Steiner, *D. zwölf kleinen Proph.*, in loc.; Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über d. Textgestalt u. d. Echtheit d. Buches Micha*, 1887, p. 216; König, *Einl.*, p. 327; Driver, *Introd.*[6], p. 328.

*** Cf. below, No. 63; above, No. 48; Stade, *ZAT*, 1, 165 ff.; 3, 1 ff.; 4, 291 ff.; Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 220.

† *Onderz.*, 2, § 74, 4 (p. 374).

announcement of the complete ruin of the capital and Mount Zion. The deep impression which this threat made on the people may be seen from Jer. 26, 17f., and it is highly improbable that such a gloomy prophecy was followed by a grand vision of restoration, which could only have served to frustrate the desired effect. Moreover, as Stade* pointed out, the ideas expressed exhibit a close affinity with the prophecies of Isaiah 40—66 and post-Exilic prophecy in general. Compare also the Psalms. The expectation of the conversion of the heathen nations and the whole world to JHVH and their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, referred to nowhere else in the book, is a favorite one with Exilic and post-Exilic writers. Cf. Is 11, 10; 56, 6. 7; 60; 66, 23; Jer 3, 17 (No. 34); Zech. 8, 20—22; 14, 16–19; Ps. 22, 28.** The important position which Jerusalem here occupies corresponds to the position held by it in Zech. cc. 12–14 where JHVH is represented as fighting for His city against the advancing hostile nations and delivering it. A fountain of purification from sin is said to be permanently opened in Jerusalem. In the Messianic age Jerusalem holds the central place: two streams issue forth from Jerusalem to water the land which becomes a plain, with the exception of Jerusalem which is rebuilt to its former limits. The nations do homage to Israel's God, coming annually to worship Him at the feast of Tabernacles. Cf. also Is. 4, 2; 28, 5. 6 (No. 26); Mic. 2, 12 (No. 56); 4, 7; 5, 6. 7; 7, 18; Is. 37, 30—32. How different from the position which Jerusalem holds in Mic. cc. 1—3 which close with the announcement of the utter ruin of the capital. The section seems to presuppose prophecies like Jer. 31, 40; Ez. 17, 22; 40, 2; Is. 61, 6; 62, 12; 66, 12. In v. 2c JHVH appears as Teacher κατ' ἐξοχήν. This points to the period of post-Exilic Judaism when God was regarded as the Teacher after the old race of the prophets had become extinct. Cf. Is. 30, 20; 54, 13; Pss. 25, 5. 8. 9. 14; 94, 10. 12; 119, 12. 26 etc.*** The prophecy of universal peace (v. 3) has its parallels in the post-Exilic literature; cf. Hos. 2, 18 (No. 49); Is. 9, 5; Zech. 9, 10. Nowack† points to Hos. 2, 18; Is. 9, 4f.; 11, 6f. as passages belonging to the Assyrian period, and therefore in favor of a pre-Exilic date for the prophecy; but see above, No. 49; Cheyne, *Intr. to Is.*, pp. 44, 64f.; Hackmann, *Zukunftserwart. d. Jes.*, pp. 148f., 138f.; Volz, *Jahweproph.*, p. 57f. The manner in which in v. 2 the forms of morality are emphasized points to the post-Deuteronomic period: *ways*, 1 Ki. 3, 14; often in the Psalms,

* *ZAT*, 1, 165f.; 4, 292.

** Cf. also Wellhausen, *Proleg.*[4], p. 425.

*** See Cheyne, Eng. Transl. of *Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 148, l. 1; p. 156, ll. 36f.

† *ZAT*, 4, p. 279.

cf. 25, 4. 9; 27, 11; 37, 34; 139, 3; 2 Chr. 17, 3 etc. *Paths* as in the later poetry; cf. Pss. 25, 4; 44, 19; 119, 15. The divine titles אלהי יעקב (v. 2), יהוה צבאות (v. 4) occur only here in Micah, and the phrases עמים רבים, גוים רבים only in the disputed portions of the book. The idyllic tone and imagery of v. 4 has its closest analogies in such Deuteronomic passages as 2 Ki. 18, 31; Lev. 26, 3—5; Deut. 28, 1f (Stade). Note also the phrase באחרית הימים, cf. above, p. 67.

Commentators generally suppose the prophecy to be derived from an older prophet, and Hitzig* endeavored to show that Joel was this elder prophet. Now a striking resemblance with the language and ideas of Joel cannot be denied; cf. Joel 1, 7. 12; 2, 22: Mic. 4, 4; J. 2, 2: M. 4, 3; J. 4, 2: M. 4, 3; J. 4, 12: M. 4, 3; J. 4, 10: M. 4, 3; J. 4, 18: M. 4, 2. Joel, however, can hardly be regarded as a prophet writing before Micah.** Recent critics have, therefore, pronounced the passage to be late.*** It is clearly intended as a contrast to the dark picture of the preceding prophecy, especially of the closing v. 12, the threat of ruin against Jerusalem and Mt. Zion. What a smarting wound this must have inflicted on the mind of a pious worshipping Jew may easily be imagined. V. 12 reads: לכן בגללכם ציון שדה תחרש וירושלם עיין תהיה והר הבית לבמות יער: *Therefore will Zion, on your account, be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem will become a heap of ruins, and the Temple-Mount as the high places of the forest.*

With slight variations the passage Mic. 4, 1—3 occurs again in Is. 2, 2—4, but, likewise, without proper connection, and following an ominous threat.† As to the relation of the two passages, compare Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*[1], p. 139; 3[d] ed., p. 142f.; Ryssel, *Unter-*

* *Klein. Proph.*, 1838, p. 185f.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Mess. Weiss.*, p. 113. Grätz (*Emend.*, 2, p. 12; *Gesch. d. Jud.*, 2, p. 97) thinks that the passage had its original place before Hos. 2, 1.

** Cf. Vatke, *Relig. d. Alt. Test.*, pp. 462, 463; Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joel*, Halle 1879; Holzinger, *ZAT*, 9, pp. 89—131; Cornill, *Einl.*, on Joel; Driver, *Introd.*[6], p. 310f., Joel in Cheyne's *Encycl. Biblica*; Cheyne, *Founders in Old Test. Crit.*, pp. 313, 314. Similarly "the early Jewish doctors were rather for than against a late date for Joel;" see Rosenzweig, *D. Jahrhundert d. Heils nach d. babyl. Exil*, p. 45.

*** Stade, Wellhausen, Cornill, Cheyne, Volz, Nowack, *al.* Stade thinks (*l. s. c.*) that c. 4, 1—4 is by the same hand which wrote 4, 11—5, 4[a]. 6—14. But 4, 1—4 and 4, 11—14 are of too different a character to be regarded as being due to the same author. In 4, 1 the nations flock to Jerusalem to be converted; in 4, 14 they come to be annihilated. In 4, 13. 14 the spirit of war prevails, JHVH Himself forging the weapons; 4, 3 prophesies universal peace. Similarly the author of 5, 6—8 differs in his judgment concerning the gentiles from the author of 4, 1—4. The expression גוים רבים, which is common to both passages, is not a sufficient bond of union if the contents are entirely different.

† Compare Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, 1, pp. 107, 108, n.

such., p. 218f.; Cornill, *Einl.*[2], p. 138f.; 3[d] and 4[th] ed., p. 145f.; Hackmann, *Zukunftserw.*, p. 126; Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.*, pp. 9ff.; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], p. 431; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. Alt. Test.*, p. 162, §§ 10. 11. See also Eichhorn, *Einl.*[2], 3, (Leipzig 1787), p 91f.; Lagarde, *Semitica*, 1, 6; Bertholet, *Stell. d. Isr. u. Jud. zu d. Fremd.*, p. 97f.; Kittel, *Jes.*, in loc.; Marti, *Jes.*, 27f. "Whence the redactor derived the passage is hard to say; it is certainly not his own composition" (Wellh. *l. s. c.*).

On Micah 6, 9 see my paper on *tûšîḳâh* in *JAOS*, **22**, 42.

HABAKKUK.

(58) Hab. 2, v. 20.

ויהוה בהיכל קדשו הס מפניו כל הארץ׃

JHVH is in His holy temple; let all the earth be silent before Him.

This verse, which is commonly understood as a transition to the theophany of Hab. c. 3, seems best accounted for as a euphemistic liturgical appendix to the *woes* against idolatry in c. 2.* Written in the tone of the Psalms (cf. Pss. 11, 4; 5, 8; 96, 9; 104, 7) this verse cannot form the proper original conclusion of the preceding prophecy, nor does it belong to the following lyric ode, c. 3. The thought that JHVH in His holy temple is to be adored by all the earth points to the time after Deutero-Isaiah. Cf. Jon. 2, 5. 8; Zech. 2, 17; 1 Chr. 16, 30; Psalms. The verse reads like a liturgical formula which was added in the later period of Judaism for the purpose of warding off from the heads of the worshippers the woe of v. 19: **הוי אמר לעץ הקיצה עורי לאבן דומם הוא יורה הנה הוא תפוש זהב וכסף וכל רוח אין בקרבו׃** *Woe unto him that says to the wood, Awake! to the dumb stone, arise! Can this teach? Behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and no breath at all is in it.*

(59) Hab. 2, v. 14.

כי תמלא הארץ לדעת את כבוד יהוה כמים יכסו על ים׃ *For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of JHVH as the waters cover the sea.* A quotation from Is. 11, 9. Cf. also Is. 26, 9; Zech. 14, 8.

This proclamation of the triumph on earth of the knowledge of JHVH is altogether out of place,** surrounded, as it is, by the

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* Stade (*ZAT*, 4, 154 ff.), Budde (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 390), Nowack (*Klein. Proph.*, in loc.) doubt the authenticity of vv. 18—19, but Wellhausen (*Klein. Proph.*, in loc.) regards them as genuine. The verses should, however, probably be transposed.

** Budde (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 383) holds the same view; cf. also J. von Gumpach, *D. Proph. Habakuk*, München 1860, p. 192.

prophet's denunciations against him who by dishonesty and cruelty builds and maintains his magnificent palaces and cities, and by ignominious means reduces his vassals to a state of utter helplessness (vv. 9 ff.; v. 15 f.).* The verse must be stricken out as a later insertion, it being probably intended as a euphemistic conclusion of a section which otherwise would have ended with the ominous words: הוי בנה עיר בדמים וכונן קריה בעולה: הלוא הנה** מאת יהוה צבאות וייגעו עמים בדי אש ולאמים בדי ריק יעפו: *Woe to him who builds a city with blood, and establishes a town by iniquity! Is not this from JHVH Sabaoth? Peoples shall labor for the fire, and nations shall weary themselves for nothing.*

ZEPHANIAH.

(60) Zeph. 2, v. 3.

בקשו את יהוה כל ענוי הארץ אשר משפטו פעלו בקשו צדק בקשו ענוה אולי תסתרו ביום אף יהוה: *Seek ye JHVH, all ye pious ones of the land who do His ordinance. Seek ye righteousness, seek ye godliness, it may be ye shall be hid on the day of the wrath of JHVH.*

In c. 1 Zephaniah proclaims the approach of the day of JHVH as a day of judgment embracing the whole world and in particular idolatrous Judah and Jerusalem: *dies irae dies illa, solvet saeclum in favilla.*** *I will utterly consume everything from the ground, I will consume man and beast.* So the prophecy begins, and in the same tone it closes: *He will exterminate, swiftly exterminate all the inhabitants of the earth.* The חרם extends over the entire earth, and all efforts to escape the approaching doom will be fruitless.

This dark picture seems to be supplemented with an outlook of hope in c. 2, v. 3 (vv. 1. 2 appear to be hopelessly corrupt). Here the prophet urges the people to seek צדק and ענוה; for the pious ones of the land may escape the threatened judgment. Schwally†

* According to the usual interpretation the Chaldeans are here referred to, while Budde (*l. s. c.*; *Expositor*, May 1895, p. 372 f.) maintains that the Assyrians are meant. M. Lauterburg (*Theol. Zeitschr. aus d. Schweiz*, 1896, pp. 74 ff.) tried to show that the whole Book of Hab. was the work of a prophet writing in the Exile who announced the attack of the Persians on Babylon. This view requires, of course, the elimination of the name of the Chaldeans in c. 1, v. 6. Cf. Marti, *Isr. Rel.*, 120, n. 1; Smit, *Proph. v. Hab.*, Utrecht 1900, pp. 2 ff.; 82 ff.

** 𝔐 חֲנָה, 𝔊 ταῦτα, 𝔗 *haec* = חֲנָה.

*** On the *day of JHVH* see W. R. Smith, *Prophets*², p. 131 f.; 379, n. 15; Briggs, *Mess. Proph.*, p. 487 f.; Schultz, *Alttest. Theol.*, pp. 728 ff.; Duff, *OT. Theol.*, p. 87; Dillmann, *Alttest. Theol.*, p. 504; Bennett, *OT. Theol.*, p. 81; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, pp. 114 f.; 140; 180—186; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 220, n. 94; Cheyne, *Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible* (Eng. Transl.), p. 132, n. 7. Cf. also Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 4, p. 308; E. Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, Berlin 1896, p. 50; Smend, *Altt. Rel.*², pp. 367 ff.; J. M. P. Smith, *AJTh*, 5, 3, pp. 505 ff.

† *ZAT*, 10, pp. 230 ff.

has pointed out that the ideal of piety contained in this verse is different from that implied in c. 1. In c. 1 it seems to consist in the avoidance of foreign cults, and in the participation in the worship of JHVH, the preservation of the manners and customs of the ancestors, in freedom from violence and fraud. In c. 2, v. 3, however, no duties relating to worship are mentioned; what is set forth as the goal which the pious should strive to reach is צדק and ענוה.* Now ענוה *ready and complete submission to JHVH,* and the corresponding adjective *submitting to the will of JHVH,*** do not occur in this sense in the pre-Exilic literature. In Am. 2, 7 עני stands in parallelism to דלים; 8, 4 parallel to אביון; Is. 11, 4 (probably, however, post-Ex.) parallel to אביון, in each case, therefore, in the sense of עני *poor, needy.* As to Num. 12, 3, which Bacher,*** followed by Budde,† adduces against the argument of Schwally, see Schwally's answer, *ZAT,* 11, p. 261 f.; Dillmann's Commentary *in loc.*; Kaulen, *Einl.*, 2, p. 200 (§ 198). עני appears to mean in this case *vexed, troubled.* עני is met with, however, 11 times in the Psalms (always in the plural) in the religious sense of the word: 9, 19; 10, 17; 22, 27; 25, 9 (2); 34, 3; 37, 11; 69, 33; 76, 10; 147, 6; 149, 4; in Pss. 22, 27; 25, 9ª. 9ᵇ; 34, 3; 69, 33 referring especially to the decided adherents of JHVH during and after the Exile.†† Also Is. 61, 1; Job 24, 4. ענוי הארץ = ענוי ארץ of Ps. 76, 10. ענוה occurs besides Zeph. 2, 3 only in Prov. and Psalms: Prov. 15, 33; 18, 12; 22, 4; Pss. 18, 36; 37, 21; 45, 5. Cornill and Budde††† adduce Mic. 6, 8 הצנע לכת as proof that the conception of ענוה was not foreign to pre-Exilic literature. But the verse, besides being doubtful as to meaning and text, appears to be of later origin.*† Nor does לֶעָנוֹת Ex. 10, 3 seem more conclusive. Perhaps we ought to read, with Siegfried-Stade, לַעֲנוֹת *sich ducken.* For צדק = ענוה cf Pss. 7, 9; 18, 21. 25; 17, 1ª; Dan. 9, 24.**†

Now it can hardly be a mere accident that these religious terms, in the sense specified, are not in use in the religious literature of the pre-Exilic period to which the prophecies of Zephaniah belong. One of the characteristic traits, if not the most characteristic (Lagarde),

* Smend (*Alttest. Relig.*[1], p. 233): *Damit drückt er gewiss die einseitig religiöse Bestimmtheit des Handelns aus, die das gesetzliche Judenthum characterisiert.*

** See Alfred Rahlfs, ענו *und* עני *in den Psalmen*, p. 80; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 446; 2d ed., p. 421; König, *Einl.*, p. 354; Cheyne, *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 64.

*** *ZAT*, 11, p. 186 f.

† *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 398.

†† Cf. Rahlfs, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 f.; 89; Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 1, p. 80 f.; (*Register u. Nachträge z. Übersicht*, pp. 66—68). Compare also Nietzsche, *Werke*, 7 (Leipzig 1895), p. 127.

††† Cornill, *Einl.*[2], § 32, n. (p. 193); Budde, *l. s. c.*

*† Cf. Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 634; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 216.

**† See Rahlfs, *op. s. cit.*, p. 77.

of the Israelites was their stubbornness and haughtiness, the עברה.* The prophets, from Amos and Hosea to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, rebuke it in numerous places. Cf. e. g. Am. 4, 6—11; 5, 3; 6, 8. 13; Is. 2, 5f.; 9, 8; 16, 6; 25, 11; Jer. 7, 23—28; and often. They had, therefore, abundant opportunity to oppose ענוה to the עברה. If they did not do so, it can only be due, it seems, to the fact that the term in this sense was unknown to them.

It seems best to assume here also a later addition.** The principle which gave rise to the appendix seems to be the one followed at the conclusion of the Book of Malachi. In both instances the prophecy would have closed with the threat of the חרם. In Malachi this was avoided by the repetition of the last but one verse. In Zeph. 1, 18, however, such an expedient was impossible owing to the ill-omened character of the entire prophecy. An auspicious conclusion had to be gained by means of an anti-ominous appendix.

(61) Zeph. 2, v. 11.

נראה*** יהוה עליהם כי רזה† את כל אלהי הארץ וישתחוו לו איש ממקומו כל איי הגוים: *JHVH makes Himself manifest to them, for He * * * all gods of the earth that all the isles of the nations may worship Him, every one from his place.*

This verse is clearly a later insertion.†† Whilst in the preceding prophecy (vv. 4 ff.) the extirpation of the Philistines, Moabites, and Ammonites is proclaimed, and this oracle of the destruction of the heathen is continued in vv. 12—15, verse 11 announces the worship of JHVH by all the gentiles. It is evident that the verse cannot be original in this connection. Moreover, the thought that *all the isles of the gentiles* will worship JHVH *every one from his place*††† has no analogy in the pre-Exilic literature; it belongs to the sphere of thought of Is. 40 ff. and of post-Exilic prophecy in general; cf. Is. 40, 15; 49, 7; 50, 1. 8; 66, 18f.; Is. 2, 2f.; Mic. 4, 1f.; Zech. 2, 15; 14, 16. Budde*† observes that the verse does not agree with the elegiac rhythm in

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* Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften*, 1892, pp. 224, 225, 226, 368. He derives (*Mitth.*, 1, pp. 80, 81) Greek ὕβρις from עברה. Cf. also Schopenhauer, *Werke*, ed. Grisebach, 5, 271; P. W. Schmidt, *Gesch. Jesu*[3], Tüb. 1900, pp. 9 f. 36f.

** Cf. Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 644, n.; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*[1], p. 149; Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 65; cf. also Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.

*** נראה with 𝔊 and 𝔖. 𝔐 נורא.

† 𝔐 רָזָה is impossible. Schwally emends רָזָן, ירזח; Grätz יזרח; Nowack יכרית.

†† So also Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 644, n. 3; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 233, n.; 2[d] ed., p. 244; Budde, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 395; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.; Driver, *Introd.*[6], p. 342.

††† Cf. Löhr, *D. Missionsgedanke in AT*, p. 27, n. 2.

*† *l. s. c.*

which vv. 4—15 are written. V. 11 was most probably added to form a propitious conclusion of a pericope which otherwise would have closed with insults cast upon the "people of JHVH" by the gentile nations (v. 10).

(62) Zeph. 3, vv. 9. 10.

Very similar in character to Zeph. 2, v. 11 are verses 9. 10 of c. 3 of Zeph.: כי אז אהפך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרא כלם בשם יהוה לעבדו שכם אחד: מעבר לנהרי כוש * * * * יובלון מנחתי: *Then I will give pure lips to the nations, that they may all call upon the Name of JHVH, to serve Him shoulder to shoulder. From beyond the Great River of Cush * * ** they will bring me offering* (cf. Is. 18, 7, No 23; 45, 14; Ps. 68, 30. 32).

These verses follow very abruptly, even introduced by כי, after the announcement of a destruction and devastation embracing the whole earth. Nor do they properly cohere with the following prophecy (vv. 11—13) that Israel will be purified, and the remnant will dwell securely in the land. The new salvation would become manifest to the heathen nations before being known to JHVH's people Israel. The verse is best regarded as a later insertion,** independently of the question whether we judge the whole of c. 3 to be post-Exilic (Wellhausen and Schwally), or ascribe it to Zephaniah (Kuenen, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Budde, Driver, Nowack). The aim of the verse seems to be to turn the mind of the worshipping reader or hearer from the thought of the all-destructive wrath of JHVH contained in v. 8 באש קנאתי תאכל כל הארץ *by the fire of my jealousy shall all the earth be devoured*) to His all-embracing care. The same applies, if, with Budde, we regard v. 8 as a marginal gloss, and transpose vv. 6. 7.

B. *Euphemistic Conclusions of Prophetic Books.*

The Books of the Prophets close, without exception,*** with auspicious thoughts. This, however, cannot be original in every case. The propitious conclusion of the Book of Isaiah and the Book of Malachi is obtained, as is well-known, by the repetition of the last but one verse. In some other instances, however, the desire of gaining a favorable close to the books appears to have prompted the addition of anti-ominous appendixes.

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* 𝔊 עתרי בת פוצי? Oort, *Emend.*, p. 147, reads רעתרו לי בְּנְפוּצַי

** Cf. Budde, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 395; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, pp. 292 f.

*** At the conclusion of the Prophecies of Nahum, where there appears to be an exception, the thought of rejoicing over the fall of the Assyrian oppressor is the prevailing one.

(63) Am. 9, vv. 8 ff.

Wellhausen* has recognized that the principle of euphemism underlies the present conclusion of the Book of Amos. C. 9, vv. 8 ff. cannot be regarded as the original conclusion of the Book.** W. Robertson Smith*** aptly remarked that the sum of the prophecy of Amos is a death-wail over the House of Israel:

She is fallen, she will not rise again, ‖ the virgin of Israel,
She is cast down upon the land, ‖ there is none to raise her up.

Israel's sin has brought about her doom; her unrighteousness and injustice (2, 6f.; 3, 9f.; 4, 1; 5, 7f.), her unchastity (2, 7), her luxuriousness (3, 9f.; 4, 1; 6, 4f.), her deceit (8, 4), her trust in the outward cult has borne its fruit. By various means JHVH has endeavored to bring Israel back to right conduct: He has sent His Nazirites and prophets to warn them (2, 11. 12), but the people have despised them; with famine, drought, and war He has visited them, but all in vain. After every plague the refrain recurs: *Yet ye have not returned to me* (4, 6ff.). At last JHVH's patience ceases. He will no longer forgive them. This is His unalterable decree (7, 8; 8, 2). Israel shall be entirely exterminated from the earth. Not one of them shall save himself (9, 1). JHVH's wrath does not stop with the exile; He follows them even here: *though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them; I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good.* Thus Amos is more than a mere *Exilsprediger* (Cornill, *Einl.*[2], p. 178, n.). In the severity of his inexorable judgment he does not even refrain from predicting the very worst consequences. The only passage which seems to give a hopeful sound, c. 5, 4, loses its comforting effect by the description which immediately follows of the incorrigible sinfulness of the people.† How can this be reconciled with the conclusion of the book where the judgment of annihilation becomes a judgment of purification?

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* *D. klein Proph.*[1], p. 94; 3[d] ed., p. 96.

** So Geiger, *Nachgel. Schrift.*, 4, p. 214; Wellhausen, *l. s. c.*; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*, p. 183; 2[d] ed., p. 200 n.; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Minor Prophets*, p. 195; Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, pp. 23ff.; Cheyne, *Intr. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 326; in W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], p. XV; *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, p. 44f.; Kraetzschmar, *Bundesvorstellung im Alt. Test.*, p. 104f.; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 119; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 158. Cf. also Schwally, *ZAT*, 10, p. 227; Volz, *Jahweproph.*, p. 22f. (original close "*später überarbeitet*"); Seesemann, *Israel u. Juda bei Amos u. Hosea*, p. 15; Grimme, *OLZ*, July 1899, col. 231; Löhr, *Unters.*, p. 1. The opposite view is defended by Cornill, *Einl.*[2], p. 178, rem.; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, p. 50f.; contrast Cornill *Einl.*[3] p. 184; *Der isr. Prophetismus*, 1894, pp 39ff., 48. Cf. also Torrey, *JBL*, 15, pp. 153f.; Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 1897.

*** *Prophets*, p. 122.

† On 5, 14 see Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.

It seems impossible that this section could have been written by Amos. It would contradict the whole character of the man with whom justice stood above everything else (cf. 5, 24), if here, at the end of his book, having mercilessly laid bare the rottenness of the body politic, he had suddenly dripped balm in the open wound. As Wellhausen* very aptly says: "After 9, 1—4. 7 he cannot immediately say that after all he did not mean to be too hard, and that all will yet be well; for in these verses he does not speak in jest but in bitter earnest; he means what he says. Immediately after far exceeding all his former threats he cannot suddenly pluck out the sting, and pour milk and honey from the vessel of JHVH's wrath". Such a conclusion, added by the prophet himself, could only have destroyed the effect of the preceding prophecy.

In detail, the following remarks may be made in support of the view that this section is not genuine. JHVH, it is said in vv. 8—10, will judge the *sinful kingdom*** very severely, he will sift the House of Israel among the nations as in a sieve; the sinners will perish, the faithful will escape. The aim of the judgment is thus the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous in the nation. This directly contradicts c. 9, vv. 1—4 where Amos proclaims the doom of the whole nation, making no distinction between guilty and innocent: none shall escape destruction. Amos makes no distinction between the nation and sinners in the nation. He always pronounces judgment on the people as a unit without regard to the individual (cf. 1, 2f.; 3, 1; 4, 12; 5, 16f.; 6, 8—11; 8, 2). When he makes a distinction between different classes of people, it is a social, not an ethical one; cf. 2, 6f.; 4, 1; 5, 10—12; 6, 1f.; 8, 4f. The idea that the pious ones will be separated from the ungodly is characteristic of the piety of post-Exilic Judaism; cf. e. g. Pss. 46; 51; 93, 5.*** Similarly Amos does not distinguish between the fates of Israel and Judah; cf. 3, 1b; 6, 1;† 2, 4. 5. Note further the wide dispersion of Israel predicted in v. 9. But the prophet never refers to the dispersion among the nations as the swiftly coming judgment, but threatens the deportation of the people into Assyria. As parallel to v. 9 compare Is. 11, 11. 12 etc. In v. 11 the fall of *David's booth* is not predicted, as we would expect of a pre-Exilic prophet, but the end of the

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* *op. s. cit.*, p. 96.

** Cf. Sir. 47, 21 *Καὶ ἐξ Ἐφραιμ ἄρξαι βασιλείαν ἀπειθῆ* = ומאפרים ממלכת חמס (*The Original Heb. of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus*, ed. Cowley and Neubauer, Oxford 1897, p. 34f.; Smend, *D. hebr. Frag. d. Weish. d. Jes. Sir.*, Berlin 1897, 24.

*** Cf. Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud. zu d. Fremden*, p. 187f.

† On c. 6, v. 1 see Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, 1, p. 92. According to Löhr, *Untersuch.*, pp. 1, 10, the references to Judah are later additions.

Davidic dynasty, the downfall of Judah, is presupposed.* The fallen booth of David is hardly the kingdom of Judah as it existed by the side of the kingdom of Israel during the life of Amos. At this time, during the reign of Uzziah-Azariah (779—740) Judah no less than Israel under Jeroboam II (783—740) reached its zenith in political power and prosperity (cf. Is. 2; 2 Ki. 14, 22; 2 Chr. 26).** Nor could Judah, as it continued after 722, be properly thus designated. That after the separation of the unjust from the just the Davidic kingdom will be restored is a thought which the post-Exilic author of Jer. 30; 31 dilates upon. The revenge upon Edom,*** and the restoration of the old boundaries of the theocracy, prophesied in v. 12, was a prominent feature in the pictures of future glory in late post-Exilic works. Cf. Is. 34; 35; Obad. vv. 10f.; Pss. 60; 137, 7. But what interest could an Amos have in the conquests of Judah? The fall of the state implied in v. 14, the devastation of the land (v. 14b), the *planting again into the land* (v. 15), are all more intelligible if viewed as written in or after the Exile than from the standpoint of the time of Amos. Moreover the picture which is here drawn of the future stands in strong contrast to the prophetic knowledge of Amos. That he, living in a time of injustice and disorder, should have placed before his hearers as the ideal state of the future, not the restitution of justice and order, but mere material prosperity, seems inconceivable.† The view is one of the commonplaces of the later period; cf. Joel 2, 14—27; 4, 18; Is. 4, 2; 30, 23; Lev. 26, 5. In like manner, as Volz†† has also observed, it is very strange that the coming of the Messianic time is in no wise made dependent on the amendment of the nation. Rather JHVH Himself undertakes the purification of His people (vv. 8—10). Whoever is not cut off, needs no conversion, but is worthy of becoming a citizen of the Messianic kingdom. This does not agree with the deep exasperation, manifested by Amos, about the moral corruption of the people. The dark background of the terrible *day of JHVH* 5, 18 is quite different from the *day of JHVH*, 9, 8—15, which rather accords with the ideas of Joel. The tender tone of

* The emendation of G. Hoffmann (*ZAT*, 3, p. 125) סכות דויד הנפלת seems inadmissible; see Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 159.

** Cf. Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 567f.; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, 1, § 355; Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebr.*, § 67; Klostermann, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, p. 205; Kent, *Hist. of the Heb. People*, p. 76; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, p. 91f.; *Alttest. Unters.*, p. 135; Guthe, *Gesch. Isr.*, pp. 184 ff.

*** Instead of the Masoretic וירשו את שארית אֱדוֹם 𝔊A, Acts 15, 17, and 𝔄 read וידרשו את יהוה שאריתּ אדם; 𝔗𝔖𝔗 support 𝔐. Cf. T. K. Abbott, *Essays*, p. 37.

† G. Hoffmann (*l. s. c.*) finds this very characteristic of the poor Amos. But, as Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterth.*, § 362, n.) says, it does not follow from c. 7, v. 14 that Amos was poor.

†† *Jahweproph.*, p. 24.

vv. 14. 15 betrays a later time when disaster had fallen upon the nation, and comfort was needed rather than threatening.

The affinities of language between the close of the Book of Amos and productions of the later periods are singularly numerous and striking. V. 8 *sinful kingdom, 'ein plumper Judaismus'* (Wellh.). V. 9 *House of Jacob, House of Israel* used of Judah or the restored exiles of Judah; cf. Is. 14, 1; Jer. 5, 20; Obad. vv. 17. 18; in Amos 3, 1; 5, 1. 4 (cf. v. 6) primarily of Northern Israel. The figure of the *grain*,* as in Zech. 10, 9; Is. 27, 12. V. 10 *the sinners of my people*;** cf. Is. 1, 28; 33, 14 (late). גדר פרץ in v. 11 as in Is. 58, 12; cf. 2 Ki. 12, 13; 22, 6 etc. With הֲרִסֹתַי compare הֲרִסֹת Is. 49, 19. ביום ההוא, and הנה ימים באים (v. 13) are late eschatological formulas. כימי עולם as in Mic. 7, 14; Mal. 3, 4; cf. Is. 51, 9; Jer. 46, 26 (all late passages). Compare further v. 11 with Is. 11, 1. For v. 12 נקרא שמי עליהם cf. Jer. 14, 9; Deut. 28, 10; Is. 63, 19. V. 13 מוג has its parallels more in younger writings, cf. Nah. 1, 5; Pss. 46, 7; 65, 11; 75, 4; 107, 26; Ez. 21, 20; Jer. 49, 23; Is. 14, 31; Am. 9, 5 (post-Ex., cf. above, No. 55) etc. עסיס is later than תירוש; it occurs again only in Joel 1, 5; 4, 18; Is. 49, 26; Cant. 8, 2. Compare also with v. 13ª Lev. 26, 5; with v. 13ᵇ Joel 4, 18. With v. 14 compare 2 Ki. 19. 29; Jer. 14, 9; Is. 65, 21; also Deut. 28, 30f. 39; Is 54, 3; Zeph. 1, 13. שוב שבות here used of the restoration from the Exile; 𝔊 *καὶ ἐπιστρέψω τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου Ισραηλ*, 𝔖𝔗.*** The similarity of 9, 14 with Am. 5, 11 speaks more against than for the genuineness of the passage. V. 15 נטע cf. Hos. 2, 25 (cf. above, No. 49); 2 S. 7, 10 (not before the Exile); Jer. 24, 6; 32, 41. אמר יהוה אלהיך in the encouraging style of Deutero-Isaiah; cf. Is. 51, 10; Ps. 147, 12. אלהיך occurs nowhere else in Amos. The preference for *scriptio plena* is also noteworthy: v. 8 השמיד; v. 9 יפול; v. 13 הורש, קוצר; v. 11 דויד.†

The conclusion is thus fully justified that Am. 9, vv. 8ff. owes its origin to a later writer. It was appended because the original close of the book was felt to be too ill-omened.

(64) Hos. 14, vv. 2—9.

For the same reason Hos. 14, vv. 2–9 appears to have been appended to the book. After the prophet's most effective description of the dreadful calamity which is to befall Israel as a punishment for their sin, concluding in v. 16 with the inexorableness of JHVH's judgment: *Samaria shall become desolate, since she has rebelled against her God; by the sword they shall fall, their infants shall be dashed to pieces,*

* As to צרור see G. Hoffmann, *l. s. c.*; Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, p. 24, n. 2.

** Cf. on v. 10 Riedel, *ZAT*, 20, p. 332. *** Cf. Preuschen, *ZAT*, 15, p. 26.

† Cf. Eckhardt, *ZAT*, 13, p. 90; above, p. 67.

their pregnant women shall be ripped up (14, 1) — we read unexpectedly an invitation to repentance followed by the declaration of Israel's acceptance into the favor of JHVH, who grants His favor freely, and pours out infinite blessings over Israel and Israel's land.

Several considerations forbid us to regard the verses as being of Hoseanic authorship. Note, first of all, the absolute want of connection between 14, 1 and 14, 2. In ideas, imagery, and language the pericope is akin to the writings of the age which begins with Jeremiah. The spirituality of the tone of vv. 2. 3 strikes us very strange if contrasted with the picture in Hos. 5, 6. V. 2^b looks back upon the punishment as having been executed, while in c. 5, 5 the execution is yet in the future. VV. 3 ff., the words of the repenting people, have their parallel in the euphemistic appendix 5, 15—6, 3 (cf. No. 51). Although their good intentions seem to be directed to the renunciation of sins, severely castigated by Hosea, their idolatry and foreign policy (cf. Hos. 5, 13; 7, 11; 8, 9), they are couched in phrases unintelligible in the mouth of Hosea. על סוס לא נרכב = *we will not make a treaty with Egypt,* can only be understood on the basis of Is. 30, 16; 31, 1; cf. Ez. 17, 15 (see Wellh., *D. klein. Proph.,* in loc.). לא נאמר עוד אלהינו למעשה ידינו reminds us of Deutero-Isaiah; cf. Is. 42, 17; 44, 17. V. 4^c בך ירחם יתום is very strange; יתום in the sense in which it is here used, of *Israel deserted of men,* is of very frequent occurrence in the Psalms. שלם v. 3 = *to pay* (a vow), terminus technicus, Deut. 23, 22; 2 S. 15, 7; Pss. 22, 26; 50, 14; 51, 17 f. For אשר (v. 4) = *for,* cf. Jer. 16, 13; differently Am. 5, 1. V. 5 f. In the preceding prophecies (9, 15; 13, 14^c) we read the inexorable *JHVH will love them no more. Mine eyes have no mercy for them.* Here JHVH announces that His *anger has turned* from Israel. Could Hosea, at any time of his life, give the comforting assurance that the anger of JHVH has turned from Israel? Or could he have uttered his hope in this form as a prophecy that will be fulfilled in the future? A similar combination of promises on the part of JHVH and penitential prayers on the part of Ephraim is given in Jer. 31, 10—20. V. 5 משובה, Jer. 2, 19; 3, 6. 8. 11. 22; 5, 6; 8, 5; 14, 7; Prov. 1, 32. נדבה adverbially, *of one's free will,* occurs again only in Deut. 23, 24; 2 Chr. 35, 8; cf. also Pss. 68, 10; 110, 3. The verb נדב occurs Judg. 5, 2. 9; otherwise late. נדיב, Num. 21, 18 (JE); otherwise late. VV. 6 f. In the picture of the Messianic age, presented in vv. 6 ff., the gifts of nature appear to hold the largest place among JHVH's blessings. According to the most natural explanation of v. 9 the spiritual blessings are wanting entirely * This is certainly very surprising if the verses were written by the

* Cf. Briggs, *Mess. Proph.*, p. 178; Valeton, *Amos u. Hosea*, pp. 84, 196 f.

prophet of Hos. 4 ff. who in cc. 7—14 severely rebukes the Israelites for desiring from their God nothing but physical goods. V. 6 כטל as in Prov. 19, 12; Deut. 32, 2; cf. also Is. 26, 19. In a different sense the figure is used in Hos. 6, 4; 13, 3. שושנה* as metaphor is met with again only in the Song of Songs (apart from titles of Psalms).** V. 7 יונק *branch*, cf. Ez. 17, 23; Job 8, 16; 14, 7; 15, 30; Is. 53, 2; Ps. 80, 12. הוד, a late expression, Is. 30, 30; Jer. 22, 18; Zech. 10, 3; Job 37, 22; 39, 20; Prov. 5, 9; Dan. 11, 21 etc. כזית, cf. Jer. 11, 16; Pss. 52, 10; 128, 3. רוח as in Jer. 48, 11; cf. also Cant. 4, 11. V. 8 ישבו ישבי is best understood, if we see in it an indication of the Exile (so 𝔊). V. 9 רענן, Deut. 12, 2; Jer 2, 20; 3, 6. 13; 11, 16; 17, 2. 8; Ez. 6, 13; 2 Chr. 28, 4; Pss. 37, 35; 52, 10; 92, 11. 15. Remarkable, as Wellhausen*** observes, is also the confusion of proper and figurative speech in v. 9. The whole description is wanting in unity; entirely different features are simply combined one with another. But to realize them so as to obtain a clear and finished conception of the whole is impossible.

Thus everything points to the fact that this prophecy of restoration is not genuine,† and those who, like Volz and Nowack for instance, hesitate to admit this, must, at least, allow that it has been 'worked over' very considerably. What prevents these critics from fully acknowledging the prophecy as a latter appendix is the consideration that Hosea must have expressed such a hope of a better future as c. 14 contains; his presupposition being quite different from that of Amos who, it is conceded, did conclude with terrible threatenings. This argument, says Cheyne,†† is inconclusive. "No analysis of 14, 2—9 seems to me possible; though v. 10 may be a still later addition. Even if, therefore, we conjecture that Hosea did prophesy the return of Israel to Jehovah, we have no warrant for assigning a composition so late in colouring to the authorship of Hosea." The appendix was added in order that the Book of Hosea should not close with the utter hopelessness of escaping from the dreadful judgment of JHVH, c. 13, vv. 12—14, 1.

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* On שושנה see I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig 1881, No. 323; Delitzsch, *Heb. Language*, p. 35, n.; Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 2, p. 16; *Armenische Studien*, § 17, 12; *Purim, ein Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Relig.*, p. 10; Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*[6], Berlin 1894, pp. 245, 254 f.

** על ששנים, according to Prof. Haupt, may mean *With Susian Instruments*. Comp. על עלמות, Ps. 46, perhaps, with Grätz, = *with Elamite instruments*. Cf. *The Book of Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible*, Heb. Ed., p. 85, l. 9; Eng. Transl., pp. 183, l. 15; 184, l. 46.

*** *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.

† So Cheyne in W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], p. XIX; *Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 363; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Relig.*, p. 119; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*[3], in loc.

†† *Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 363.

(65) Mic. 7, vv. 7—20.

Mic. 7, vv. 7—20 forms the close of the Book of Micah. Wellhausen's* argument that these verses are not the proper continuation of c 7, vv. 1—6, but of an entirely different character presupposing quite a different situation and abruptly breaking off the prophecy with v. 6 is perfectly conclusive. "What was present there, viz. the moral disorder and confusion in the existing Jewish state, is here past; what is there future, viz. the retribution of v. 4^b, has here come to pass, and has been continuing for some time. What in vv. 1—6 was still unthought of, viz. the consolation of the people tempted in their trouble to mistrust JHVH, is in vv. 7—20 the main theme." All their sins will be cast into the sea (19^b). With a lyric passage celebrating JHVH's mercy, faithfulness, and compassion the prophecy closes. There prevails a remarkable similarity between Mic. 7, 7—20 and Is. 40—66. Cf. also Is. 13, 14. 21. In v. 20 Abraham is referred to. This is not done by the prophets before Ez. 33, 24: Jer. 33, 26; Is. 29, 22; 41, 8; 51, 2; 63, 16 are post-Exilic.** Regarding Babylon as the enemy spoken of in v. 10*** Wellhausen concluded that Mic. 7, 7—20 was the composition of an author writing during the Babylonian captivity. Then, however, we would expect the prediction of a return to Judah, not the desire for the possession of Gilead and Basan (v. 14). Such a wish is only intelligible on the hypothesis that the Jews are dwelling in Palestine though limited in their possessions. Giesebrecht† therefore, seems nearer to the truth in regarding these verses as the utterance of the post-Exilic community. Comp. Is. 25, 9; 33, 2. V. 12 does not refer to the exiles in Babylonia, but to the return of the Diaspora to the holy land; Zech. 10, v. 10. The enemy is the heathen world. The hope expressed that the hedges of Zion be rebuilt may be understood of the building of the walls under Artaxerxes;†† cf. Ezr. 4, 7f.; Neh. 2, 1f. (Giesebrecht, Nowack). With

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* Bleek, *Einleitung*^{4}, (1878), p. 425f.; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 145.

** See Giesebrecht, *Jer.*, p. 183; Duhm, *Jes.*, p. 191; Marti, *Jes.*, p. 218; Gressmann, *Jes.* 56–66, p, 21f.; Littmann, *Abfassungszeit d. Tritojesaia* (1899).

*** Theodoret (ed. Migne, 2, col. 1782) holds Edom to be the enemy referred to. Giesebrecht (*Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 217) thinks of the Samaritans. Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle a. S. 1896, pp. 114f.; 119f. Ryssel (*Untersuch. über d. Text. u. Echth. d. B. Micha*, pp. 280ff.) combats the view of Wellhausen, yet he accepts his main thesis that the prophecy is written from the standpoint of the Exile. See Giesebrecht, *op. s. cit.*, p. 217, n.

† *Beitr. z. Jes.*, p. 217. Giesebrecht is followed by Cornill, *Einl.*^{2}, p. 186; 3^d and 4th ed., p. 191; Nowack, *D. klein. Proph.*, p. 223. Now also Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.

†† Cf. W. H. Kosters, *Wiederherstell. Israels in d. pers. Periode*; übers. v. A. Basedow, Heidelb. 1895, p. 42f.; Ed. Meyer, *Entst. d. Jud.*, pp. 54, 240f.; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, pp. 48ff.

this time agrees also the literary and religious tone of the passage, which is that of the Psalms; cf. Pss. 27, 9; 35, 19. 24; 38, 17; 78, 2. 11; 79, 16; 80, 2; 103, 9; 115, 2 etc. Here also the appendix appears to have been added* to obtain an auspicious conclusion of the book which otherwise would have ended with the darkest description of the social condition of the nation, c. 7, v. 6: כי בן מנבל אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמתה איבי איש אנשי ביתו: *For the son dishonors the father, the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in law; a man's enemies are the men of his own household.* It is probable that this gloomy picture was originally followed by a prophecy of the divine retribution, being later supplanted, on account of its ill-omened character, by a piece of good augury.

(66) Zeph. 3, vv. 14—20.

Zeph. 3, vv. 14—20 are generally recognized by recent critics** as not genuine. Not only does "its buoyant tone form a marked contrast to the sombre quiet strain of 3, vv. 11—13" (Driver), but the historical situation also is entirely different from that in c. 1. According to the view of Budde there lie between cc. 1 and 3, 14 ff. not years or a few decades of years, but almost a century — he might have said centuries. The period of Israel's judgment is past. The enemies are overcome. JHVH reigns in Zion as Israel's king. Evil will come upon Zion no more. JHVH rejoices in His city. He will gather those that are living in the Dispersion. Israel, that has been a reproach among the nations in the past, will now hold the most honorable position in the world. Humiliation of the gentiles and glorification of the Jews, such narrow patriotism accompanied by hatred of the foreign nations, is met with repeatedly in the post-Exilic literature;*** compare e. g. the oracles of Jeremiah against the foreign nations (late); Mic. 4, 11 f. (post-Ex.); 5, 14 (post-Ex.); Is. 34; 59, 16; 61, 4. 5. 6; 63, 1; 65, 13 f.; 66, 19 ff.; Joel.† The passage presupposes

* That we have in Mic. 7, 7—20 a later addition is held by Cheyne, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Kuenen, W. R. Smith, Stade, Vatke.

** Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.*, 1, p. 644, n. 3; Kuenen, *Onderz.*, 2, § 78, 7; Schwally, *ZAT*, 10, p. 237 f.; Wellhausen, *D. klein. Proph.*, in loc.; Cornill, *Einl.*[2], § 31 (p. 193); 3d and 4th ed., p. 197; Budde, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, p. 394; G. Wildeboer, *Lit. d. Alt. Test.*, § 12, 5 (p. 193).

*** Cf. A. Wahrmund, *Babylonierthum, Judenthum u. Christenthum*, Leipzig 1882, p. 167; Lagarde, *Purim*, pp. 50, n. 1; 54, ll. 17. 18; 55 f.; *Mitth.*, 4, p. 314; *Deutsche Schriften*, p. 252; Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud. z. d. Fremden*, p. 234; Löhr, *Missionsgedanke im AT.*, pp. 23 f.; 30; 39 f.; Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums*, p. 222 f.

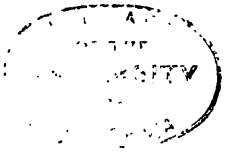
† The outpouring of the spirit, Joel 3, 1 f., applies not to all classes and conditions of men, but only to the Jews. Cf. also Zech. cc. 9—14.

the city as standing; part of the people are living in the land, while others are scattered through many countries. The שוב שבות refers to the gathering of the Jews of the Diaspora (so also Schwally, Wellhausen, Preuschen), not to the Return from the Exile, as Kuenen, Budde, and Nowack seem to suppose. For lexicographical notes bearing on the passage see Schwally, *ZAT*, 11, p. 237f. In this case the addition may be due to the fear of concluding the book with the ill-omened word מחריד of the preceding verse.

The passages discussed would seem to establish the fact that the superstitious dread which, at the conclusion of the so-called יחקק, led to the repetition of the last but one verse owing to the unlucky character of the closing words, may be traced in a considerable number of instances:

in the Psalms	21	times,
in Isaiah	16	times,
in Jeremiah	15	times,
in Hosea	9	times,
in Amos	4	times,
in Micah	4	times,
in Habakkuk	3	times,
in Zephaniah	4	times.

The Book of Ezekiel is comparatively free from euphemistic additions probably because "though the book opens with desolation, it ends with consolation." Nearly one half of the book treats of restored Israel.



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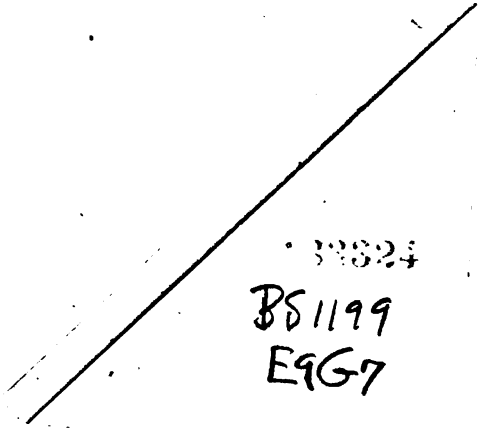

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